THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

T·L·S

31 JULY 1970

No. 3,570

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Librarians

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(UNIVERSITY OF LONDON)
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Further details from the Librarian, Bromley College of Technology, Rookery Lane, Bromley, BR2 8HE, to whom applications should be made by 14th August, 1970.

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H. H. Smith, Town Clerk, Town Hall, East Ham, London, E6 2RP.

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COUNTY LIBRARY
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Detailed applications (6 copies) naming 3 referees by 31 August, 1970, to Inter-University Council, 90/91 Tottenham Court Road, London W1P 0DT, from whom particulars are available.

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T·L·S THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

FRIDAY 7 AUGUST 1970 · No. 3,571 · ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE

Man with Gusto

[CHRIST]OPHER HOLLIS:
[The Min]d of Chesterton
Hollis and Carter. £2 2s.
[G. K.] Chesterton: A Selection from [his Non-]Fictional Prose
[Selected] by W. H. Auden
[F]aber and Faber. £2.

[...] REPUTATIONS, except those of the utterly imbecile, dwindle and rise again; [...]men are praised twice, first [for the] wrong reasons and then [...] cycle of obloquy, for the [...] Chesterton wrote that sen[...] an early, amiable defence [...]day, and as a general [...] literary reputations it is [...]gh. But it will not do as [...]int of Chesterton's own [...] He has had no cycle of [...] and the small praise that [...]d has not varied much. [...]arcely call a writer neg[...]n nearly a third of his [...]ld books are still in print, [...]public that apparently re[...] a silent one, and in places [...]erary reputations are made [...]rved his name is seldom

[...]t the fault for this state of [...]ust fall upon Chesterton's [...]atholics. Thirty years ago, [Be]lloc wrote his essay "On [...] of Chesterton in English [...]" he concluded that his reputation would ultimately [...]pon "that doubtful contin[...]the conversion of England". [...]ird proposition assumes, as [...]ther Catholic writing about [...]on has assumed, that he [...] Catholic Author", and that [...] would read him, if at all, [...]me reason that it would [...] *Spiritual Exercises*. Belloc [...]as Chesterton's Catholic [...] have tended to neglect, [...] merits in his work that [...]peal to doctrinal minds [...]not to be explained in [...] terms. This parochial [...] given Chesterton's repu[...]ind of parish-newspaper [...]t it has not helped him [...]rger literary audience. It [...] Chesterton was removed [...]loving disservices of his [...]ts; above all, he needs [...]ention.

[...] the elevation of Chester[...]e uphill work. For one [...]didn't work seriously in [...]oems. He called himself a [...] and a man-of-letters [...]ch could still be under[...]dwardian times, as some[...]onymous); and he prac[...] profession on whatever [...]e to hand. He was a [p]amphleteer, a religious [...] an informal essayist, a [...] a novelist, a poet and [...]ceasing to be a journalist. [...]s of work he said: "I [...] taken my books ser[...] I take my opinions quite [...] In our own time, when [...] more likely to reverse [...]nt, and take books more [...]an opinions, Chesterton [...]ly been underrated.

[...]he has no present place, [...]ecure one, in the history [...] literature. He made no [c]ontribution to any major [...]m, and he has had no [...]he academies; his novels [...]ght in university courses [...] fiction, his poems are [...]logized, and scarcely [...]en remembers that he [...] If there were such an [su]bject as The History of [...], or if the casual weekly newspaper essay were susceptible to heavy scholarship, then Chesterton might figure importantly; but as it is, he is cast among Miscellaneous Authors, the writers-on-everything.

It is an interesting historical fact that the Edwardian years produced an extraordinary number of such writers, including men as gifted as Shaw and Wells. Surely there has never been a time, before or since, when controversy, in the press and in the lecture hall, was so intelligent and so entertaining. It was a time peculiarly suited to public cerebration, for everyone recognized that an age had died when the old Queen died, and the new one had to be defined. Clearly changes had to be made in morals and in manners, in politics and religion, but the exact forms of change were still unclear. There were the rights of workers and employers to be settled, and the rights of women, the rights of Irishmen and the rights of Peers, the right to be educated and the right to buy a drink. On all these subjects Chesterton had opinions: he believed in Christianity, Liberalism, Englishness, Monogamy, Drink, the Family, and the right of every man to a modest possession of property: he was against Imperialists, Feminists, Capitalists, Pacifists, Teetotallers, Free Thinkers, Free Lovers, Liberals and Jews. And he said so, week after week, with cheerful violence and gusto.

Most of the books in which those arguments were preserved are now as dead as Lamb's pig, and only the historian of Edwardian thought will disturb their graves. The same is true of Chesterton's uncontroversial essays, those weekly bursts of charm with titles like "A Case for the Ephemeral" and "The Domesticity of Detectives", that were regularly gathered together under titles -- *Tremendous Trifles*, *The Uses of Diversity*, *All Things Considered*—that frankly confessed their unimportance. It is a fact to be noted about the Edwardians that they had apparently boundless appetites for such stuff, but that taste has passed: *Gusto*, one might say, has fallen out of fashion, and with it the status of Chesterton-the-essayist has quietly declined.

Chesterton's reputation as a man with Gusto was to a considerable degree his own doing, as it was his undoing. He did devote a good deal of attention, in his more ephemeral writings, to Beef-and-Beer heartiness, and when he wasn't being hearty, he nevertheless *looked* hearty. For most modern readers who know Chesterton at all, the visible image of the man is probably James Gunn's painting, "Conversation Piece" (reproduced on this page), in which Chesterton appears with his friends Baring and Belloc. In this picture Baring and Belloc seem to be watching in mute astonishment while Chesterton writes something. And no wonder, if one considers the figure that Gunn has made of Chesterton—a sort of monstrous Toby jug of a man, wrapped in a vast cape like a collapsed circus tent, and writing with a hand so corpulent that it seems to have swallowed the pencil. It is impossible to think that he is writing anything serious—he is writing a Tremendous Trifle—but he is obviously writing with Gusto.

Gunn's painting is a grotesque, but so was the man, and his appearance surely encouraged the common notion of Chesterton as a jolly journalist full of high, fermented spirits. But perhaps the figure also influenced Chesterton; perhaps he took up the role that his figure cast him in, and was sometimes guilty of more jollity and gusto than his true vision of the world confirmed. Perhaps within that jolly journalism there was a slender melancholy trying to get out.

What Chesterton's true vision was, he explained often enough; though like his great antagonist, Shaw, he sometimes said it with too much wit to be taken seriously. For Chesterton, the time in which he lived was the decadence of a great revolutionary period, represented in his mind by the French Revolution and in England by Cobbett's "rural republicanism". He saw the nineteenth century as a time of moral compromise, in which ideals had been accommodated to industrial capitalism, with disastrous consequences for philosophy and religion,



Chesterton, Baring and Belloc, from the painting by James Gunn in the National Portrait Gallery.

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And since he considered that what men believed about ultimate things mattered, he could not help but view the Edwardian intellectual disarray as the ruined end of a dismal process. He was like a man who has inherited a bankrupt firm, or a farmer across whose field a battle has been fought; he acknowledged that the mess was his to deal with, but he regretted it.

In Chesterton's writings the sense of disarray precedes the sense of a solution: *Heretics* comes before *Orthodoxy*. *Heretics* is Chesterton's account of the false prophets of the Edwardian intellectual world: Shaw and Wells, Kipling and Moore and Lowes Dickinson are attacked with wit and ingenuity for the unreason of their doctrines. But, more than that, the book is a vision of the modern world, wrapped in its spiritual darkness. "The human race, according to religion, fell once", Chesterton wrote, "and in *falling* gained the knowledge of good and of evil. Now we have fallen a second time, and only the knowledge of evil remains to us. A great silent collapse, an enormous unspoken disappointment, has in our time fallen on our Northern civilization."

This vision of lost good, and of impending dissolution, is a recognizable Edwardian state of mind; one finds it in the writings of Chesterton's friend Charles Masterman, in Kipling and Galsworthy, and even in the usually ebullient Wells. Perhaps it is the last consequence of the collapse of Victorian optimism that the survivors of the fall should see their world darkly; perhaps only a man who had once felt profound security could respond to the insecure modern world with such dark distress. For Chesterton, the second fall, the fall from good, had loosened the world's restraints, and set free powerful and evil forces of disorder. His lifelong preoccupation with religion was a long effort to restore restraints and reaffirm the power of good, and so to make life possible.

That sense of dark forces at large is what makes Chesterton's stories and novels disturbing and alive. He called his best novel, *The Man Who Was Thursday*, a "Nightmare", and it is as a writer of nightmares that he engages the modern imagination. Ostensibly *The Man Who Was Thursday* is about anarchists, but in fact it is not a political book at all; the force of evil in it is not anarchism, but *anarchy*, the total dissolution of order. For Chesterton, anarchy was the name of Christendom's antagonist, the opposite of sanity and faith, and between the two was an eternal struggle. One of the things he admired about *The Song of Roland*, he said, was its representation of this struggle:

> The poem ends, as it were with a vision and vista of wars against the barbarians; and the vision is true. For that war is never ended which defends the sanity of the world against all the stark anarchies and rending negations which rage against it forever. That war is never finished in this world.

Chesterton's novels and stories are representations of that war that is never finished, and of his deep fear that the barbarians' version of existence, as meaningless disorder, might be true. His hero, Thursday, has a vision of that possibility when he confronts the six men who have, he thinks, sworn to destroy the world:

> He knew that each one of these men stood at the extreme end, so to speak, of some wild road of reasoning. He could only fancy, as in some old-world fable, that if a man went westward to the end of the world he would find something—say a tree—that was more or less than a tree, a tree possessed of a spirit; and that if he went east to the end of the world he would find something else that was not wholly itself—a tower, perhaps, of which the very shape was wicked.

Chesterton had a genius for the shape of wickedness; that is to say, he had an allegorical imagination. All of *The Man Who Was Thursday* is a dark conceit, and so is *Manalive* and *The Ball and the Cross* and *The Napoleon of Notting Hill*. Even the Father Brown stories have something in them of allegory or parable: each offers an inscrutable, irrational, often obscurely unnatural event, and then explains it, through Father Brown's understanding, as an aspect of the intelligible order of existence. At the end of each story the sanity of the world has been defended against the stark anarchies, and we are reassured.

It is in his uses of his allegorical imagination that Chesterton seems most "modern", for nightmare is the allegorical form for our time, an allegory of the unconscious by which our deepest anxieties and fears are revealed. When Chesterton dedicated *The Man Who Was Thursday* to his friend E. C. Bentley, he wrote:

> This is a tale of those old fears,
> Even of those emptied hells,
> And none but you shall understand
> The true thing that it tells . . .

But in fact we *do* understand that true thing, because we share it; we feel at home in his nightmares. And partly for literary reasons, for Chesterton shares this allegorical category with a number of other interesting and important modern writers—with Wells and Kafka and Orwell, Rex Warner and Charles Williams and Graham Greene. And it is not surprising that a parabolical writer like Jorge Luís Borges should admire Chesterton, or that he should have written the best short appreciation of Chesterton's imagination.

The sense of the world as a moral battlefield is at the centre of Chesterton's thought: it underlies his allegorical fiction, and it informs his criticism. It made it possible for him to live in a world of anarchies and negations and yet preserve that moral energy that he called optimism. "This world can be made beautiful again", he wrote in his *Charles Dickens*, "by beholding it as a battlefield. When we have defined and isolated the evil thing, the colours come back into everything else. When evil things have become evil, good things, in a blazing apocalypse, become good."

It is in part because he saw the world in this way that he was so excellent a critic of the Victorian period; for he understood the importance of religious struggle for the age, and emphasized it even at the peril, as he put it, of making the spiritual landscape too large for the figures. He was born into that landscape, and he sympathized with the Victorians in their High Seriousness. But he was also an Edwardian, removed enough from the past age so that he could see it whole, and thus become the first Victorianist. His *Victorian Age in Literature* is still the best single work on the subject, and his studies of Dickens and Browning remain valuable. If the criticism sometimes seems dated, that is because the personal voice of the critic is so clear in it: for Chesterton, criticism was an aspect of belief. Re-reading the *Victorian Age* now, one cannot but be struck by how wise a book it is, and how superior to Strachey's mean-spirited version of the period—superior in sensitivity, superior in tact, but most of all superior in generosity of mind.

Perhaps because Chesterton was so good a Victorian, and so great an Edwardian, he made a poor Modern. Unlike Bennett (who was his elder by seven years) he did not change with the times. Bennett could appreciate Joyce and Lawrence, and was quick to receive and publicize the young ... terton, Joyce was ... manages to be ... esoteric language ... genius deformed by ... of his time", and ... maker of head-spi... difference is simp... was entirely a lit... could admire a m... well, while Chester... a philosophy and a ... his judgments on ... believed, in a way ... world, and as he ... that way lost: and ... writers of those la... toms of the unive... used *modern* as a ... rium, along with ... *sionist*, and *aesthe*... he could write pur... well about the ... modern world, he ... to its writers.

In his book on ... terton observes: "... wrote so well ... about writing." This ... a generalization, bu... truth about Chester... the greatest of mod... cause he believed in ... If he was witty and ... was so that deep ... well and pungently ... if he was illogical ... it was because the ... strike him as logical ... impossibility, a mir... believed, he was a ... he could think of ... his marvellous ... defence of his faith.

Consequently his ... not concentrated ... ary works but is sc... over everything, ... casual letters to ... no perfect book, ... on which he seems ... quite enough time; ... hasty and prodigal, ... whom a merely liter...

... unimportant. One is less likely ... admire a whole work by him ... to cherish portions marvel... episodes, skilful arguments by ...doxical example, turns of ...se that no one else could have ...ten. Surely Chesterton would ...rove of this, for he was, as he ...ys maintained, a journalist and ... an artist, and he would rather ...avoured than revered.

...hristopher Hollis's book is a ...y of Chesterton-the-Catholic by ...tholic, and has the defects of ... approach. It takes Chesterton seriously as a religious thinker ...compared in the first chapter ...hn XXIII and in the last to ...ard de Chardin), and gives ...e attention to the fiction and criticism, and it offers much ... is the mind of Hollis rather ... the mind of Chesterton. In so ... it manages to make Chesterton seem quite uninteresting, and one must conclude that the approach is wrong. That Chesterton was clever in argument does not make him a serious thinker, and though in later life he made himself an amateur theologian and hagiographer, this does not alter the fact that he remained what he had always been, a journalist of genius. Chesterton was a Roman Catholic for only the last fourteen years of his life (a point that tends to be slid over by his Catholic commentators), and those were not the years of his finest work: if he survives, he will do so mainly on the imaginative and critical work of the Edwardian years—*The Man Who Was Thursday* will surely outlast *The Everlasting Man*. Mr. Hollis has done his work with devotion, but *The Mind of Chesterton* is not the sort of book that Chesterton's reputation needs just now: it is, to use Chesterton's phrase, praise for the wrong reasons.

It is not surprising that W. H. Auden should admire Chesterton, a man so like himself in so many ways: religious, clever, of enormous and vagrant curiosity, a great generalizer. His selection is restricted to Chesterton's non-fictional prose, but within those limits his choice is acute and right. He has drawn upon Chesterton's literary criticism, his polemics, and his two saints' lives; has wisely avoided the belletristic essays: and has added a brief foreword that is a shrewd and warm-hearted appreciation of Chesterton's special merits. The selection seems just the sort to win new readers to Chesterton, and the expressed reasons are in this case the right ones: Chesterton's extraordinary gifts as a writer.

Dear Doctor Freud

...ROAZEN:
...er Animal
...ory of Freud and Tausk.
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... £2 5s.

...T L. FREUD (Editor):
...Letters of Sigmund Freud and
...d Zweig
...lated by Professor and Mrs.
...D. Robson-Scott.
... Hogarth Press and the
...te of Psycho-Analysis. £2 5s.

... Jones said that the task of ...ing Freud's biography was ...tingly stupendous", the data ...so extensive. Letters alone ran ...thousands: Freud preserved all ...correspondence from 1907 on... Besides the sheer bulk of the ...rial, there are the peculiar difficulties attending any effort to penetrate below surface appearances, to ... the master analyst, while re...bering that he damned all biographies and biographers:

> ...ver undertakes to write a biography binds himself to lying, to concealment, to hypocrisy, to flummery and ...hiding his own lack of understanding, since biographical material is ... be had and if it were it could ...used. Truth is not accessible; ... does not deserve it.

...eless mankind tries to get it. ...eud's life is now documented ... abundant flow of publications. The two latest concern his ...ships with Victor Tausk and ...Zweig. They exemplify the ...terns of appraisal—unstinted at one extreme, and covert ...ement at the other. Dr. ... denigrates; Arnold Zweig ...tery on with a trowel.

... was a gifted, unhappy ...ssionate and unsettled. He ... his legal career for journal... ...e up journalism to qualify ...ctor, and then devoted him... psychoanalysis. The war ...ed: from August, 1915, ... autumn of 1918 he served ...ustrian Army as a psychia... then returned to Vienna ... in poor physical and ...health. As Freud put it in an ... notice,

> ...aced for the third time, in his ...mental exhaustion, with the ... of building up a new ...—this time under the most ...ble internal and external ... . . . He was no longer ...ope with the many demands ...upon him in his ailing state ...eality.

...919, he committed suicide.

...motional turmoil in which Tausk's life was passed is ...cribed in *Brother Animal* ...s no doubt that the severe ...n which culminated in suicide ... superimposed—not for the ...—on a lifelong instability ...rament. It was inevitable ...would look to psychoanalysis ... means of relieving this ...ychopathic burden, and ...would hope that as a trusted ...ome neophyte he would be ... to have his analysis carried out ...by Freud himself. He asked for this, and was refused it. Instead Freud referred him to Helene Deutsch, who was being analysed by the master. After three months, Tausk's analysis came to an untimely end; the situation was rather absurd and the undertaking doomed: most of Dr. Deutsch's analytic hour with Freud each day was spent in talking about what Tausk had said about Freud in his hour with her.

Although there was some tension between the two men, it never came to an open rupture. Tausk respected Freud and was a devoted adherent to the end. When he committed suicide he left behind a letter for Freud:

> I thank you for all the good which you have done me. It was much and has given meaning to the last ten years of my life. Your work is genuine and great. . . I hope you will have a long life, in health, strong and capable of working.

In a postscript Tausk asked Freud to look after his two sons from time to time. In spite of this unqualified expression of trust and gratitude, Dr. Roazen perversely maintains that the suicide note is "really quite aggressive" towards Freud. Only by the most strained interpretation could such an attitude be inferred. Freud himself discerned no such hidden meaning. He wrote a generous obituary of Tausk, stressing his outstanding gifts and services to the promotion of psychoanalysis. In a private letter to Lou Andreas-Salomé, Freud allowed himself a franker judgment: "Poor Tausk . . . put a thorough end to his life on July 3rd. . . . I confess I do not really miss him; I had long taken him to be useless, indeed a threat to the future." Dr. Roazen denounces this bleak but honest admission as shocking, inhuman, heartless, and builds it into a complex indictment in which jealousy (over Lou Andreas-Salomé) and fear of plagiarism figure largely. It becomes part of the depreciatory account of Freud's character and behaviour towards his followers.

In his determination to find weaknesses in Freud, Dr. Roazen slips into some absurdities. Thus he recalls the care with which in some instances Freud began a book or paper with a complete review of the relevant literature on the subject, and he suggests that this was a device of Freud's to establish his claims to originality. Elsewhere Dr. Roazen pronounces that: "Freud's eyes [in a portrait] remind us how he could hate." The analysis of Tausk which Freud recommended was a "devilish arrangement". The Steinach operation which Freud underwent in 1923, on von Urban's advice, had been referred to by Ernest Jones—according to Dr. Roazen—with the "utmost tact" and "camouflaged", though in fact Jones gave a perfectly correct, unvarnished description of what was done.

Dr. Roazen is not a psychoanalyst but he has acquired some of the worst faults of psychoanalytical pathography. He speculates happily on the basis of slender or negligible information. He discerns powerful unconscious motives in the chief characters of the drama and he switches from narrative fact to psychoanalytic metaphor with slippery ease; for instance: "Freud's male pupils wanted his love, but he gave it only if they came close to castrating themselves as creative individuals". It would have been better if Dr. Roazen had remembered how Freud, when pressed to fathom Nietzsche's psyche, declined because he considered it impossible to understand anyone without knowing his sexual constitution, and because one could go very much astray in unravelling psychological motivation in such a case.

The captious feuilleton style of Dr. Roazen's revaluation of Freud is in marked contrast to Arnold Zweig's reverential tone in the correspondence that began in 1929, when Freud was seventy and Zweig forty. He began the exchange of letters with a declaration of gratitude for the benefit he had derived from psychoanalytical treatment, and subsequently extolled Freud's work in extravagant terms: "You are a scientist of a calibre such as mankind has never produced before". "Your collected opus represents the greatest extension of human-knowledge ever accorded us on the most important subject of all"; and the editor, Freud's son, tells us that he had expunged "all too frequent and exaggerated eulogies of my father". Freud seems to have borne these tributes without flinching, though in a letter to Princess Bonaparte he said: "When someone abuses me I can defend myself, but against praise I am defenceless."

It is impossible to read the twelve-year correspondence without recalling the uncertainties and dangers which had to be faced by the two men—though Freud was stoically restrained in his few references to the pains and distress he endured from the treatment of his cancer of the jaw. Freud's mood was profoundly unhappy:

> I find it hard to adapt myself to the role of the hero suffering for mankind, which you kindly assign me. My mood is bad, little pleases me, my self-criticism has grown much more acute, I would diagnose it as senile depression in anyone else. I see a cloud of disaster passing over the world, even over my own little world.

Illuminating though Zweig's profuse letters are, it is, of course, the comments and rejoinders of Freud that give this book its interest. His frankness, common sense, resigned humour, and unremitting intellectual activity are throughout in evidence, as well as the warmth of his personal concern about his friends. There are also moving passages; thus in 1934 he wrote: "fate has granted me as compensation for much that has been denied me the possession of a daughter who, in tragic circumstances, would not have fallen short of Antigone".

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Thin theorist, persuasive practician

BERNARD BERGONZI:
The Situation of the Novel
226pp. Macmillan. £2 15s.

Bernard Bergonzi concedes immediately that the title of his book is "more ponderous than I like", and it certainly could be taken to promise a more ambitious study than he in fact provides. The first two chapters of *The Situation of the Novel* discuss such questions as whether the novel has now reached the point where further formal developments can hardly be expected or ought not to be sought, and whether nineteenth-century notions of fictional characters will inevitably decline with the decay of liberalism. The book then increasingly devotes itself to commentaries on individual writers and their works, and these, it is hoped, illustrate the points raised earlier and more generally.

The practice of this book is more persuasive than its theory—which is just as well, since there is more of it. About a fifth of it, for instance, is given over to surveys of Evelyn Waugh, Anthony Powell, and C. P. Snow which—while they add little to the stock of ideas about these writers which are already in circulation—are solidly based and well judged. Mr. Bergonzi makes some interesting critical deductions from the nature of Waugh's revisions. He argues forcibly on behalf of Anthony Burgess, and is sympathetic to Kingsley Amis, stressing, among other features, the animistic and superstitious elements in Amis's novels. He is admirably firm, however, on the technological obscurantism of C. P. Snow's fictional methods. Although one of Bernard Bergonzi's main purposes is to get beyond the normal, unexamined reflexes of English criticism, he is clearly a competent practitioner of it.

His discussion of some American writers also has the merit of being open to new novelistic experiences without being swamped by them. He can see why American critics are excited by John Barth's *Giles Goat-boy*, and still disapprove of "its crudity of vision, its basic thinness of texture, and above all its manic repetitiveness". Mr. Bergonzi makes a strongish case for the work of Thomas Pynchon while maintaining the kind of reservations that also allow him to conclude that "much of the most admired American fiction of the last ten years seems to spring from a radically desensitised response to life".

We need to be persuaded of a certain impartiality in this critic, since his book, taken as a whole, is an attempt to strike "a difficult balance between the position that unthinkingly regards English cultural and literary attitudes as self-evidently right, and the opposite position, that dismisses recent English literature as flat, tame and hopelessly rooted in the past". This effort to overcome insularity while upholding native worth is obviously praiseworthy, but as it turns out it is handicapped by some of the ways in which it is carried through.

Bernard Bergonzi's propositions are sometimes defensible in themselves but inadequately supported. His assertion that most English novels fall into predictable generic styles rests frankly on personal impression. His statement that American novels, even when mediocre in content, are better written than their English counterparts needs more evidence to back it up than is supplied. His treatment of M. Robbe-Grillet's ideas on the novel does not give the impression of interpreting them fairly or considering them attentively. His discussion of John Bayley's notions about the relations between the novel and reality seems over-brisk and even irritable, considering how ready he is to adopt some of Mr. Bayley's terms.

In fact Mr. Bergonzi quotes from other writers almost too liberally—the ability to put one's finger on a piece in a back number of *The Listener* or a faded *Critical Quarterly* is of course heartening evidence of a writer with his files in good order, but a number of the remarks thus rescued hardly seem worth the carriage. And it is not as if Mr. Bergonzi were nervously anxious for the support of other critics: he is always ready to give his opinions almost the same status as his arguments, and he reports with a Snowian or two of his person with top American an critics. Finally, Mr. B not to isolate the point his thesis from other while he is on the subje refrain from letting benefit of.

It is this latter charac makes the structure of *of the Novel* unsatisfac reviews of the Eng especially are apt to b broad in scope for them vincingly as evidence fo presented in the early book—even though they to commend them whe their own. Nor do they Bergonzi with much con future: "novelists are li tinue making variations themes, or carrying o stylistic manoeuvres w *impasse*". It is a mor resigned conclusion tha getic and bluff attack o gonzi's opening pages expect.

Man, the plaything of language

PETER HANDKE:
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124pp. DM 10.
Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Almost unknown four years ago and now riding the crest of popularity—hailed by Max Frisch as author of the "play of the decade" (*Kaspar*) and regarded in Germany as one of the leading lights of the avant-garde—Peter Handke began with a succès de scandale. His outspoken attack on the stereotyped descriptive style of works read at the 1966 "Gruppe 47" meeting at Princeton earned him the reputation of establishment-baiter. His first play *Publikumsbeschimpfung*, a disturbingly schematic and at times deliberately boring dissection of our expectations about what ought to happen in the theatre, subjected the audience to a string of violent insults. This combination of iconoclasm and vituperation was the first of a series of highly stylized linguistic exercises for voices to which Handke (in his notes to the play) gave the name of *Sprechstücke*:

> plays without images, inasmuch as they give no image of the world. They refer to the world not in terms of images, but in terms of words, and the words of the *Sprechstücke* do not refer to the world as something lying outside words, but to the world in the words themselves. . . . [They] are theatrical, inasmuch as they make use of natural forms of expression from real life . . . abuse, self-indictment, confession, evidence, question, justification, excuse, prophecy, the cry for help. They therefore need a partner, at least one person listening, otherwise they would not be natural expressions but the author's constructs. Thus far, *Sprechstücke* are theatre plays. They imitate the gestures of all these natural modes of expression ironically in the theatre.

Publikumsbeschimpfung, *Selbstbezichtigung* and *Kaspar* are all *Sprechstücke*; their subject is the language we use, but whereas *Publikumsbeschimpfung* has the limitations of a gesture against tradition, the two later plays treat more far-reaching subjects. Man is depicted as the product of language and becomes a montage of linguistic banalities: commands, definitions, prohibitions and all the familiar verbal restrictions of a repressive society. The tragedy is not simply that Man is entangled in what Handke calls the "Versprachlichung" of existence (where all reality is reduced to words and experienced at this remove), but that his language itself risks being pared down to a set of inhibiting commands and materialistic labels. With the *Sprechstücke* Handke created a special kind of verbal alienation, examining words on an empty stage, juggling with the same terms in various syntactical sequences and allowing the histrionics of presentation to make the familiar seem strange, as Brecht puts it.

Alongside these experiments, much of the work that Handke has produced has not risen above the level of avant-garde hackwork. Literary "ready-mades" such as a list of the titles of a year's stage productions in the G.D.R., the Japanese hit-parade, the screen credits for *Bonnie und Clyde*, and various over-mechanical syllogistic and permutational exercises have tended to detract from the incisiveness of the *Sprechstücke* and some of his poetry and fiction. Handke has without doubt played to the gallery at times and the general public have been delighted to find a new kind of experimentation that seemed radical and yet remained unusually comprehensible, although many critics with longer memories have censured him for his props: his second-hand "Wiener Gruppe" box of tricks and his third-hand dada gags. Where Handke has managed to break new ground is in the tone of highly artificial simplicity which he has adopted. The result, as the following from *Selbstbezichtigung* shows, can be poignant as well as ironic:

> I am not what I was. I have not been what I should have been. I have not become what I should have become. I have not kept the rules that I should have kept.

His first novel *Die Hornissen* (reviewed *TLS*, September 22, 1966) revealed the opaque texture of reality and the air of randomness surrounding everyday events. It was also concerned with the act of imposing a pattern on the nebulosity of experience, as was his subsequent detective novel *Der Hausierer* (*TLS*, October 3, 1968), an ironically structured double-decker with a series of theoretical sections about detective novels in general superimposed upon the surface of a *nouveau roman policier*. The theory indeed comes rather as a relief, as if one were reading an esoteric piece of science fiction interlarded with extracts from Susan Sontag's extremely readable essay on the genre. Underlying this study in pattern and indeterminacy there seems also to be a general concern with the possibly stereotyped nature of the detective novel as a form, for no matter what he writes, Handke is always testing his material for signs of fatigue.

The new anthology, *Prosa, Gedichte* . . . decorated with four passport photos of the author, as solemnly vacant and indistinguishable from one another as many of Handke's sentences—provides an introduction to the range of his output, although it often fails to select the best work to date. Apart from a useful collection of essays on films, aesthetic and politico-cultural matters, this piece of retrospective exhibition-ism offers some tantalizingly short extracts from a number of prose experiments, some language games and poems. We are given the text of *Hörspiel Nr. 2*, a rather pretentious mixture of church music and voices speaking over a taxi radio-network, a work far inferior to the traumatic interrogation atmosphere of *Hörspiel Nr. 1*—a contrast which suggests that Handke's strength lies in more stylized kinds of language than the tape-recorder can provide. The collection also includes *Publikumsbeschimpfung*, which, deprived by reputation of its original shock effect, has become such a masochistic ritual that Handke no longer permits it to be staged.

In a more recent play without words, *Das Mündel will Vormund sein*, Handke departs from his central theme of language as the main limitation upon experience. Linguistics gives way to semiotics; we witness grotesque gestures and images of power and hostility—the whip on the wall, the guillotine-like machine for cutting turnips, and trivial, provocative actions like eating an apple or cutting fingernails in front of an inferior.

With his latest play, *Quodlibet*, Handke once more shows a proclivity towards "producer's theatre". (It has, incidentally, been issued in duplicated form by the Verlag der Autoren co-operative.) Isolated snatches of conversation from a cast of historical figures are interwoven to form a collective nightmare. Charged words like "gas", "shoot", "wire", "Alsatian dog" and "soap" are uttered in innocent, everyday sentences, but in such close proximity to one another that the audience confuses them with less innocuous overtones. As with *Das Mündel*, Handke's text supplies a detailed description of the impression he wants his play to make on the audience. The confusions themselves are reminiscent of an earlier poem entitled "Verwechslung everyday objects sudde grotesque:

> Ist das da auf dem Flug aufgerissenen Maul, e
> Nein, es ist die offene Ein Flugzeugs.

And so on. Socks becom rotting apples change grenades in a kind of fantasy that is also to b the latest and most Handke's novels: *Die A manns beim Elfmeter*.

Superficially this is novel, taking up the lying *Hörspiel Nr. 1* a *sierer* that our attitude of the detective or the view everything with questioning mind. The keeper Josef Bloch—a Kafkaesque name—is his job as a mechanic German is on the word for from now on he cease an identity, as Kaspar gradually dismantled by gratuitously murders a after spending the night escapes from Vienna Austrian border-town around there as the net him. Interest lies neith murder—merely anoth quentiality in a series of impersonal city life possible escape. Ironica murder has taken place in other words, Bloch escape his problem, for a pervasive uncertainty the form of a general mania. The title's image keeper tensed before the is taken is deliberately Bloch's "Angst" is both ubiquitous. Hence this incongruous as most shown to be for the hero.

In a brittle and at prose, Bloch's sense of orientation is communica via flashbacks—while he remembers the time boiling water on some generally by the hostility to conversations and to things around him. Symp phrenia is a familiar menon in modern literat forfeit their naturalness, at cross-purposes, langua the artificiality of lapidary names become misnom in Bloch's case, the break nailed by a series of chairs and tables are page of the novel, and verbal deception. With has succeeded in creati counterpart to Kaspar a ferred to his novel-writi the dramatic power that him out as one of the most figures in German literat during the 1960s.

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Under the heel

[RO]BIN COOK:
State of Denmark
a Warning to the Incurious
pp. Hutchinson. 35s.

vels which set political predictions the very near future need to show articular flair for the atmosphere the procedures of current politics they are to seem convincing. In *State of Denmark*, the exact year ot named, but it is still well before . Five National Governments been succeeded by Jobling's ocialist" administration which has ed itself into apparently perpetual wer, taken a racist and law-and-er line, banned the unions, abol-d the press (except for *The Eng- Times*) and generally imposed a by and intensely brutal dictator- in the name of the "New Pace". les and Scotland are free, seces-ist democracies, but England is rupt and dilapidated—virtually ll's Airstrip One, but portrayed out the brilliant Orwellian under-ding of political tendencies.

deed, credibility is altogether king, despite gallant attempts to suade us that this *is* the way things heading. By the year Mr. Cook cribes, far too much has happened too quickly, and by a not very llovable sequence of events. It is plausible that his hero, Richard tt, a political writer in disillu-thed exile from his past—when he ed of the dangers, and lam-ed Jobling in a television inter- would have had so little ink- from Italy, of events in Eng-d. It is difficult to believe that he ld have let English officials col- him so easily from abroad. And hard to imagine that so sordid a atorship would have established such sadistically effective control so rapidly. These major faults are a pity in a novel which does not lack sincere moral fervour, and a genuine desire to warn and prevent. Richard Watt's private character, if not his political journalism, is convincing—he is a resilient struggler for personal independence in a squalidly submissive world. It is not inconceivable that the dictatorship against which Mr. Cook warns could come into being: but it might be much blander, and with a more attractive image than he gives it. And at this point in our political history it would also be likely to be less of a nightmare extension of the more disillusioning features of Wilsonism than *A State of Denmark* makes it!

Bored to death

GIORGIO BASSANI:
The Heron
Translated by William Weaver
179pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 30s. Panther. 6s.

Giorgio Bassani is one of the more revered figures of the Italian literary establishment, and since two of his novels (*The Gold-rimmed Spectacles* and *The Garden of the Finzi-Continis*) are in Penguin, his reputation is well established also in this country. As a precise and passionate chronicler of the Jewish middle class of Ferrara before and during the war, and as a delicate, poetical interpreter of the bitter-sweet and trouble of adolescent love, he is indeed one of the best Italian contemporary novelists.

The present novel is again set in and around Ferrara, some time after the war, but there is no young love here. Edgardo, the hero, has no interest whatever in life, as if the terrible years of racial persecution had dried him up completely. He has survived, he has kept his fortune, but neither his family nor the management of his estate is a sufficient *raison d'être*. One day he sets out for some hunting in the marshlands, but he does not shoot, he is disgusted by the killing; he is obsessed by the long, dignified agony of a heron shot by someone else, and little by little (it takes seventy pages) the death of the heron leads him to kill himself.

The process by which the heron becomes a persuader of death is rather mechanical, and Edgardo's prodigious irresolution rather unconvincing. It is all very well for him to hesitate at the decisive moment about the weapon ("Which would he use ? The Browning or the Krupp ?"), but for a man going to commit suicide to wonder "when had he urinated last" seems absurd. It is true that Edgardo's definition of life is just "a monotonous round of eating and defecating, of drinking and urinating . . .", and Giorgio Bassani, like Francis Bacon, takes pleasure in lavatory scenes. But perhaps most readers will prefer the open air and the tennis court of the Finzi-Continis.

The translation of *The Heron* is competent and readable, if you are not put out by the Americanisms.

Improving

THOMAS HOLCROFT:
Anna St. Ives
Edited with an introduction by Peter Faulkner
495pp. Oxford University Press. £3.

Shoemaker's son, pedlar, stable-boy, actor: the life of Thomas Holcroft and his determined pursuit of education through youthful poverty and strolling theatricals to become one of the most successful playwrights of his period, a translator of contemporary French literature, novelist and advanced political thinker, is a stirring subject for contemplation. Remarkably, neither the struggle for survival nor self-education seems to have embittered him. Though convincedly doctrinaire in his political idealism, he had a flexible mind: open to new experiences, responsive to books.

The "Oxford English Novels" series has disinterred *Anna St. Ives*, an epistolary novel of 1792 (not 1794 as the dust-jacket alleges), and despite its Richardsonian spaciousness (and near-tedium) while the characters are being established and the plot set in motion, the operation proves valuable. The book is concerned with two interconnected relationships. Anna St. Ives is the intellectual daughter of a country gentleman with a mania for improving his estate (from which some good secondary comedy results, giving interesting contemporary responses to the fashion). She hesitates high-mindedly before finally surrendering to her affection for Henley, a low-born but gentlemanly idealist, whose letters surpass even hers in their confident forecasts of the future emergence of a classless society of highly moral Godwinian rationalists.

But before discovering that her attitude to rank is based on shallow conventionalism, Anna has admitted the addresses of a young man of the world called Clifton. She tries to educate him into right opinions and universal benevolence, but his standards are those of society: haughty, prejudiced and bedevilled by a false sense of honour, he misunderstands Anna's intellectual programme, resents her attempts to recruit him to the cause of social regeneration, dislikes her concern for Henley's well-being, grows to hate her and lays elaborate plans for vengeance. He is only prevented from ruining Anna and Henley's lives by a melodramatic dénouement which (rather engagingly) results in his own reclamation and consecration to the cause of social justice.

When old and new ideologies meet there is always the likelihood of complete mutual misunderstanding. Holcroft's triumph is that although belonging to one of the two sides himself, he quite sees this. *Anna St. Ives* weaves an increasingly interesting tissue of ambiguities and multiple interpretations of events. Peter Faulkner's introduction to the novel understresses this. Writers as dissimilar as Richardson, Laclos and Smollett (*Humphry Clinker*) contributed to Holcroft's very intelligent manner of handling epistolary conventions, and the book's fresh subject-matter is enhanced by a corresponding inventiveness and subtlety of technique. Mr. Faulkner writes interestingly on Holcroft's political ideas and affiliations, but one would have welcomed a fuller treatment of the novel's attitude to sentimentalism, both in relation to Holcroft's own dramas and to the contemporary French literature with which he was obviously so highly conversant.

[F]light is right?

[HER]VE BAZIN:
[Les] Bienheureux de la Désolation
Paris: Le Seuil. 20fr.

is "realistic philosophical M. Bazin exploits the vol- eruption which a few years ported the inhabitants of Tris- a Cunha to Britain and asks estion: why did they later go to their God-forsaken home? process he contests our con- society (our society which es its members), while ex- doubts about the exemplary of the Tristan da Cunhans' As Nerval once said, simpli- not a fit subject for study. tough island community ed to M. Bazin by reason of fect involvement in natural ses, its constitution which equality into daily practice, general ethos of a reason- appiness amidst a dearth of ities. But M. Bazin balances ogy with criticism, voiced by islanders (the vicar, the Ad- tor) who are not natives. As Tristan da Cunha is called as a "blueprint" and a ".

on the islanders are kindlily but kably interned in Surrey, M. has a field-day. Caustically, has always been most at needle-matches, he chroni- fussy welcome given these from the only active Brit- ano. The dignified strangers eetly appalled at the passa- ndless charity foisted on he whole "Stock Exchange deeds". caring for the newcomers mplain of their censorious sm". Teachers remark on ildren's fixation on real to the detriment of their tion. M. Bazin himself, who book a "novel parallel to a-item", seems too hooked eal-life material. The island- st striking feature is their hey are birds flocking to- nate nests. With their Khrush- e proverbs, they query some received ideas, for instance the obsession with youthfulness. M. Bazin evidently shares some of these anti-contemporary prejudices, but some of the barbs reach targets. Why, for instance, does the outsider see so little satisfaction with life among the English natives ? M. Bazin also thoughtfully stresses that there is little conflict between generations within the island community, because the young are more quickly promoted to adult responsibilities than in Western societies.

It is left ambiguous whether the return was a flight away from Europe or a journey towards their real home. Once back and having assimilated their experience, the islanders begin an eclectic introduction of modern technology to improve living conditions. They still insist however on beer without froth. The final section presumably records M. Bazin's own fact-finding trip to Tristan, though ostensibly the visitor is that Hollywood cliché, the would-be tough but in fact sympathetic newshound.

The blurb says with inexpert jesuitry that this book offers no lesson, but only a record of a phenomenon which is not quite exceptional. The author's pedagogic streak is too much a part of him to deny itself expression. He has a binary mind which thrives on duels. "I think therefore I contradict", said the hero of *Vipère au poing* and M. Bazin wants us to see the Tristans as a living contradiction of our unnecessary and self-defeating complications. The question of fidelity has frequently intrigued him, the keeping or breaking of faith within the hermetic groups he favours. His creations, indeed, tend to be island people, some to a manic degree. And small-scale utopias are his ideal, though he probably excels at depicting people as maladroit masseurs, rubbing each other up the wrong way.

There are in *Les Bienheureux de la Désolation* some excessively literary patches, as if M. Bazin were trying to prove that he had something of his own to contribute amid all the borrowed material. He has always loved to twist clichés by the tail, to flaunt puns, conceits and over-violent renderings of simple acts (a man "torturing the wheel of his lighter"). Some of the dialogue, as befits a philosophical tale, falls too pat. His recurrent vice, that self-conscious dread of capsizing into banality, still makes his prose progress by fits and starts. Yet, as before and like Alan Sillitoe and John Braine, who are his rough English counterparts, his sense of the concrete details of daily living ties down his abstracting urges.

He is a writer highly aware of his own obsessiveness and wilfully attempting periodically to shed his old skin and enter into new ones. If the weatherbeaten hide of the Tristans finally wards him off, the struggle provides, as an islander says of the journalist's style, "too much gravy, but not a bad joint of meat".

Comic classic

GABRIEL GARCIA MARQUEZ:
One Hundred Years of Solitude
Translated by Gregory Rabassa.
422pp. Cape. 35s.

Spanish title: *Cien años de soledad*. A "comic masterpiece and certainly one of Latin America's finest novels to date". The novel recounts the rise and fall of the Colombian community of Macondo and of the intricate dynasty of the Buendías. It is "a fantastic reflection of what has happened in Latin America", full of stylish "juxtapositions of the violent and the strange". (*TLS*, November 9, 1967.)

¶ The success of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* is now legendary and it seems destined to become one of the classic novels in the Spanish language. In Gregory Rabassa, García Márquez has found an excellent translator who, if he does not quite capture the lyricism of the original, nevertheless achieves a consistent and very readable translation.

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Günter Grass's play The Plebeians Rehearse the Uprising is now being performed in the Royal Shakespeare Company's season at the Aldwych Theatre. The text is available in Bookshops.

Cloistered Celts

AUBREY GWYNN and
R. NEVILLE HADCOCK :
Medieval Religious Houses : Ireland
479pp. Longmans. £8.

With the publication of this book an invaluable survey of the religious houses of medieval England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales is complete. Ireland offered perhaps the most severe challenge of all. There, monasticism had the longest history but its continuity had been interrupted by conquest and pillage, by so-called reform and by counter-reform. Over the thousand years of early and medieval Irish history, cultural and linguistic divisions between the Irish and their invaders disturbed the peace of the cloister. The local kinship loyalties of particular areas added another dimension of bitterness and the changes of the *twelfth* century coincided with the stresses of the Norman invasion. The clash between Irish and Anglo-Norman continued throughout the next three centuries, accentuated by the fact that cultural values as well as political power were at stake.

This enterprise began some fifteen years ago. Mr. Hadcock, whose formidable energy and tenacity had brought the English volume to a successful conclusion, was fortunate in being able to call upon the panache and expertise of Fr. Aubrey Gwynn, "the Irish Grosjean". Unfortunately, because of long periods of illness, it was not possible for Fr. Gwynn to play as active a part as he had hoped, but he was able to act as a benign patron. In particular he was able to call upon the support of a younger generation of Irish medievalists, many of whom were his pupils. The result is a triumph for joint Anglo-Irish scholarship, in a tradition which stretches back to Sir James Ware's *De Hibernia* (1654). The publishers are to be congratulated for publishing a volume of which any university press could be proud.

The book concentrates, almost inevitably, upon the period after the "reforms" of the mid-twelfth century. Malachy, the St. Bernard of Ireland, placed Irish monasticism upon a new basis, dominated by the Cistercians and the Augustinian canons. There was, however, an earlier tradition represented by the spectacular oceanic architecture of Skellig Michael or the lakeside grandeur of Glendalough. These sites hint at a vein of mysticism and poetry which makes the new spiritual life appear placid and regimented by comparison. The new orders, alas, brought an intense suspicion of women and of "double monasteries". There was no Anglo-Norman Saint Bridget. The story of how the earlier tradition survived into the sixteenth century may be picked out in these pages, though it is not as clearly emphasized as one might wish. There are also hints of local family disputes which inevitably played their part in influencing the progress of a particular religious house or causing the destruction of another. Like so much of Irish history, the history of Irish monasticism is a local one with the feud playing as important a part as the faith.

This is of course a work of reference, but its introductions to the various sections and particular entries may be read for their own interest. We learn, for example, how in the great Cistercian abbey at Mellifont (Co. Meath) antagonism between Irish and Anglo-Norman monks ran very deep. In 1321 Edward II complained to the Pope that Mellifont admitted as monks only those who denied that they were of English descent. Sixty years later, however, it was enacted that no "mere" Irishman should be allowed to enter.

The violence of the cloister emerges clearly from these pages on the Cistercians. Some of the monastic orders served as colonizing institutions, the medieval equivalent of the evangelical mission societies. In the case of the Templars and the Hospitallers, their colonial function is clear enough. With the other orders it is less evident, though no doubt it existed. The foundations of particular religious houses could also be associated with the political ambitions of local Irish potentates. There could be imperialism of a home-brewed variety as well as a more obvious Anglo-Norman version.

Almost inevitably, the scholarship of the various religious orders dominates the book. Cistercians, Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans and other groups all have their official historians guarding their traditions. Such devotion pays historical dividends, but there is also perhaps a price. This is suggested by the small amount of space devoted to the early Irish monasteries, who have no orders to represent them in modern historical scholarship. This is the world which now cries out for the attention of the archaeologists, some of whom have already demonstrated what can be done. "More monastic sites and fewer megaliths" should be the watchword for excavators.

It is safe to say that this will remain an essential work of reference for many years to come. It represents the patient work of scholars whose particular combination of linguistic and other skills is hard to come by. Not least it will draw the attention of non-Irish medieval historians to the wealth of interest in Irish monastic history. Irish monastic remains may not be as well preserved as those in England and elsewhere, but the range of monastic experience is unrivalled in these islands.

The vicar in context

ALAN MACFARLANE :
The Family Life of Ralph Josselin
241pp. Cambridge University Press. £2 15s.

The successful application of anthropological techniques to historical material is all too rare. This is partly because, academic specialization being what it is, very few individuals are trained in both disciplines. To this Dr. Macfarlane is a happy exception, holding a Bachelor's and a Doctor's degree from Oxford in modern history and a Master's degree from London in anthropology. In his first published work he has at once established himself as a leading practitioner of what his subtitle proclaims his book to be, "an essay in historical anthropology".

The essence of his method has been to take the manuscript diary of the reverend Ralph Josselin, an Essex Puritan who was vicar of Earls Colne from 1641 to his death more than forty years later, and subject it to an intensive study and analysis. The full text, incidentally, is evidently at least twice as full as that printed earlier in this century for the Camden Society. The diary has been examined with a number of varied questions in mind, and at the same time Josselin and his diary have been related to other sources for seventeenth-century autobiography and social history. The author's approach is well indicated by the titles which he has given to the successive parts into which the essay is divided : I, The political, ecclesiastical and economic world ; II, The life-cycle (that is, birth, childhood, adolescence, marriage, death parenthood being treated elsewhere) ; III, The social world ; family, kin and neighbours ; IV, The mental world. In short, this is near to being a miniature piece of "total" history in the Lucien Febvre-Braudel manner, though the style happily is in no way reminiscent of *Annales*. The anthropologist's concern with the family and the small group is not allowed to dominate the wider context of seventeenth-century England—the Civil War, Cromwell and the rule of the Saints, the Restoration and the Clarendon Code.

The very fact that Josselin was not an heroic figure, not an intellectual or moral giant to be mentioned in the same breath with Milton, Baxter, Bunyan or Fox, may make him more truly representative of Puritan England, although the author is extremely cautious here and emphasizes how much more work needs to be done before we can safely say that Josselin is typical even of Puritan clergy, let alone of any wider group. The general tone is indeed attractively modest, free from pretentious jargon or excessive claims. By any standards, however exacting, this is a remarkable addition to seventeenth century studies. That Dr. Macfarlane has it in him to write not merely a highly original and very talented but a great book seems, on the evidence of this, at least probable. The compass of Josselin and his world is simply too narrow for the author's powers yet to have been fully stretched, and his mind exposed to the reader as it grapples with a bigger subject and a broader mass of source material.

There are one or two very faint traces of a young man in a hurry, perhaps a little impatient with scholarly minutiae. Thus it will not do to say that, "All dates are in new style with the year commencing on January 1", and not to explain whether or not the ten-day difference between the two calendars has also been corrected : the answer appears to be no, and very sensibly so. The fruit referred to by Josselin (on pages 70 and 72) is a melocoton, alias malecotoone (a peach grafted on to a quince) and not a mulligatawny ; to find an ingredient for curry soup in an English orchard would indeed be revolutionary. Here and there elementary arithmetic has gone astray too, as with Josselin's and his wife's ages at marriage, likewise after how many years together they had their first serious recorded quarrel.

A more substantial matter of judgment arises from the discussion of Josselin's attitude towards an after-life. We are told that

> belief in the after-life does not play an important part in his private thoughts as recorded in the Diary. There is not a single de[...] to hell or damnation, [...] that a Puritan clergyman [...] have been expected to us[e] hell as threats or [...] himself or his congreg[ation ...] the most tepid interest in [...]

But as Dr. Macfarla[ne ...] warns us, only two [...] many sermons have surv[ived ...] latter point is the mere[...] More serious, as regard[s ...] this raises the whole [...] which again the auth[or ...] where some shrewd th[...] about what a diarist [...] including possibly hi[s ...] assumptions. For the [...] of God some valuable [...] material could have bee[n ...] the writings of that gre[at ...] of ideas, the late Perry [...] contrast. Dr. Macfarla[ne ...] intriguing and cogent on [...] as dreams, mental im[...] attitudes towards childre[n ...] vants. This is one of t[he ...] rare cases where a boo[k ...] book is more interesting [...] original.

On the debit side, we [...] than John Aubrey's a[...] Sir Thomas More adv[...] couples should see each [...] nude before marriage. [...] cheek or not, it is spel[...] *Utopia* ! While to do Ae[...] he gives unusually full [...] for the story of More [...] precept into practice-[...] round at least—with his [...] ters and his future son [...] liam Roper.

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ROBERT STANDISH
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PETER DAVIES

The real-life Peachum

GERALD HOWSON :
Thief-Taker General
The Rise and Fall of Jonathan Wild.
338pp. Hutchinson. £2 15s.

English literature owes a debt of gratitude to Wild—he inspired Gay, who seems to have met the great original of Peachum in a tavern in Windsor, and Fielding, as well as countless dealers in blood and thunder. By the first two he was seen, and rightly, as a man of his age, an entrepreneur who used the law as well as broke it, the criminal shadow of the typical successful businessman or politician in the age of the commercial revolution.

As Mr. Howson points out, Wild's system depended to a great extent on the development of the press. He advertised, and he used the media in other ways as well. Starting as a dealer in "lost" property which he was able to recover through his criminal contacts, he moved on to the operation of a private police agency (eliminating only those criminals who refused to cooperate with him or had outlived their usefulness) and then to the systematic organization of crime. He was a camorrista rather than a mafioso, in the sense of being an urban boss, not a terrorizer of peasants ; and it is to the credit of the English law (whatever sneers Mr. Howson may level at the Recorder of London) that his revolting career was cut short after only a comparatively short time. In unregulated London, the largest agglomeration in Europe at that time and a magnet for people of every kind, such a system as Wild's could have bitten so deep as to become ineradicable.

Although sympathy is wasted on a man such as Wild, who treated his criminal followers rather as a farmer his cattle, first milking them and then consigning them to the gallows in return for the reward, accompanying the whole operation with cant that almost turns the stomach, his career presents many features of interest. He undoubtedly operated on business principles, and even at one time seems to have contemplated adding an insurance office against theft to his crooked empire. One of his principal lieutenants was a Portuguese Jew, Abraham Mendez Ceixes, whose brethren make a prominent contribution to more honest financial developments in this period. Wild also ran a ship between England and Holland (stolen goods outwards, contraband inwards), and eventually operated his thief-taking business in important centres outside London.

Mr. Howson has dredged up an immense amount of information about Wild and his associates, and unlike earlier biographers has gone back to original court records and other material which have long been neglected. But his enthusiasm and his industry exceed his capacity to handle the information he has assembled.

He is one of those authors who cannot resist reminding his readers that a character he is mentioning in one connexion had another connex[ion] twenty years prev[...] the result that none of [...] ters (though goodness [...] are picturesque enough [...] clearly from the page, [...] is lost in a mass of det[ail ...] clearly interested in the [...] point of citing an Act of [...] every time it is mention[ed ...] citations are not alwa[ys ...] and too often his zeal fo[r ...] leads him into wholly [...] error. Why carefully ad[...] C.J. after a Baron of [the Ex]chequer ? Such slips [...] which need never have [...] tioned at all are bound [...] mine confidence elsewhere.

The result is an uneve[n ...] book, which is neverthele[ss ...] the most useful so far [...] underworld in the early [...] era. When he is seeing [...] clearly Mr. Howson [...] vividly, as for instance [...] cription of Jonathan at [...] of his power :

> Every day at about seve[n ...] room was attended by a [...] highwaymen, cut-throats, [...] bailiffs, lawyers, and [...] every kind. While his serv[...] him into his callimanco [...] slippers, and a turban [...] polished silver plates [...] shaved head, and served [...] breakfast of a pint of [...] bowl of thick chocolate, [...] with a spoon, he heard ap[...]

Wild's mistake, perhap[s ...] allowing himself to becom[e ...] figure. The most [...] inals are anonymous [...]

A world of sensible particulars

[RO]BERT CREELEY :
[...] Charm
[Earl]y and Uncollected Poems
[...] $2.50.

[A] Quick Graph
[Co]llected Notes and Essays
[...]pp. $4.
[San] Francisco : Four Seasons Foundation.

[Robe]rt Creeley's new collection, *[The] Charm*, is mainly made up of [poems] the author failed to reprint in [earli]er volumes, and might properly [be re]ad not on its own but as a sup[plem]ent to *Poems 1950-1965* (pub[lishe]d in England four years ago). [Bu]t this miscellaneous sample does [...]st Creeley's appeal and his [...]. The blocks to one's enjoy[ment] of the poetry are big enough : [but they] are not immovable. In too [many] poems Creeley seems to defy [the re]ader with the question, "Who [is spea]king ?" or "What am I think[ing a]bout ?" He has been known [to ask] listeners whether or not he is [audi]ble and then to tell those too far [away] to hear well that he would spoil [the] effect of the lines if he raised [his] voice.

[Th]e truth is that his technique [limit]s him to a fairly small number [of s]ubjects ; if one keeps those in [min]d, one can usually sift out the [mea]ning. Anyhow, Creeley could [not] produce his bright but ambiva[lent] illuminations behind the screen [of hi]s impudent vagueness. Often [the] subject is a curious detail of [som]ebody's sexual habits. In "Two [Cas]es" he compares the inexperi[ence]d lover's shock on being handled [by] a woman with the experienced [man]'s ease :

> [...]kes so long to look down,
> [fi]rst time thinking it
> [...] then and there either
> [...] up or else drop off.
>
> [...] hand on
> [...]gger one
> [...] on the hand.

[Th]e blurred reference of "it" is a [mark] of Creeley's style. He is fond [of no]uns like "thing", pronouns [without] clear antecedents, demons[trative]s that seem to point nowhere. [The eff]ect (when it succeeds) is to [make] the reader an accomplice of [the p]oet's : we are presumably both on such good terms that the reference will be clear.

The complexities of the relation between men and women are a favourite subject, especially as shown in marriage. Human nature depends on loyalties that last. Yet close, deep-rooted ties snarl one another and make people frantic. Creeley plays with the oscillation between mutual need and mutual rejection, marriage as grace and marriage as yoke. Here is "For an Anniversary" :

> Where you dream of water
> I have held a handful of sand
>
> My manners are unprepossessing
> I stand here awkward, and a long time.
>
> I am mainly an idiot.
> You are almost beautiful.
>
> We will both be miserable
> but no one is damned.

The arbitrary changes in tense suggest Creeley's preoccupation with time, his insistence that whatever was meaningful in the past becomes part of the present. The variety of verb forms in the poem—not only tenses but persons, numbers, voices—suggests the variety of experiences contained by the marriage. In this effort to make syntax expressive, one meets a normal element of Creeley's style.

The act of composition itself often becomes part of the poem if not the central subject. In "The Late Comer" Creeley rewrites the poem as he goes along, and comments at the end, "(better)". In "Chasing the Bird" he suggests that each time the poet tries to convey his experience of "night", the task grows harder :

> The sun sets unevenly and the people
> go to bed.
>
> The night has a thousand eyes.
> The clouds are low, overhead
>
> Every night it is a little bit
> more difficult, a little
>
> harder. My mind
> to me a mangle is.

When Creeley shifts without warning from the theme of nightfall to the theme of writing about nightfall, he acts in character. The reader must simply identify himself with the poet to the point of "acting" with him, and seeing what "it" refers to. The passive reader will miss out. In the expressiveness of the rhythm (if one stops for what Creeley calls "terminal juncture" at the end of each line), in the change from the mildness of the first half of the poem to the harsh movement of the second, one can hear the most subtle of Creeley's accomplishments. Fuller demonstrations of this rhythmic power appear in "The Rhythm" and "The Woman" in *Poems 1950-1965*.

Finally, there is the examination of selfhood or consciousness, implicit in all Creeley's work—for the creative imagination is only a purified form of the human sensibility—but primary in a number of poems. The relation between perception and recognition, experience and memory, the difference between the self as agent and the self as witness, the "I" who *am* and the "I" who *is*—these themes provide centres for Creeley's verse, essays, and fiction. On the poet's uncorrupted mind the world of sensible particulars imposes its fresh objects ; these the poet grasps, giving them meaning as he embeds them in his associations ; and thus he joins several different times with the place of the immediate experience. In "Not Again", a poem about self-consciousness, Creeley enacts the sudden appearance of the "I" as witness before the "I" as agent :

> It was a breeze and a seashell
> brought in Venus—
> but I can be here
> without going anywhere.
>
> So goodbye
> until we meet again,
> and when you come, walk right in.
> It's I.

The comic slyness that suffuses this poem and many more alternates or mingles itself with a despair that rises as easily. So long as a man upholds the integrity of his soul while reaching out to those who love and resist him (especially his wife and children), he is bound to feel regularly defeated. Yet he must keep renewing the effort. These conflicts find an audible outlet in deliberate and often mischievous bathos.

Disappointment with people verges on disappointment with self—the failure of the imagination to work well against routine monotony and anxiety. Fears of death, of losing creative power, may be embodied in despair or transcended in the ironic pathos of a poem like "Helas"—here are the opening lines :

> Helas ! Or Christus fails.
> The day is the indefinite. The shapes
> of light
> have surrounded the senses,
> but will not take them to hand (as
> would an axe-edge
> take to its stone . . .)

Creeley's style, tentative and recapitulatory, slows down the surges of feeling without explaining them away. It sounds like his hesitant, low-pitched voice. The movement between poet and world becomes the quietest possible drama but draws in every resource of language. When his lines break off or dwindle into ellipses, they evoke the poet's rueful admission that no words are right for some reflections, or else his confidence that the sympathetic reader needs no further hint. When the voices speaking in a poem change with hardly a sign, Creeley implies that all the voices—despair, humour, confidence, and lyric passion—emerge ultimately from the single poet who represents the human spirit.

The prose pieces collected in *A Quick Graph* will help those who wish to study Creeley's career as a teacher and editor. But the over-killing assertiveness here is less charming than the hesitancy of the verse. Now and then, as in the essay, "I'm given to write poems", or the review article, "The New World", he illuminates his own poetry. Often he celebrates men—Whitman, Pound, Williams—whose work opened doors for him ; or he recommends younger men—Charles Olson, Robert Duncan—whom he has worked with and learned from (or taught). But the programmes he sets up are not always consistent with one another or his practice. He delivers his eulogies and slogans in a humourless prose that remains ugly and obstructive. When one is not rattled by the solecisms, one is puzzled by the exotic syntax.

[Bi]ts and pieces

[MART]IN DODSWORTH (Editor) :
[The Su]rvival of Poetry
[...] Faber and Faber. £2 5s.

[...]title, *The Survival of Poetry* [...] an exercise in meta-criti[cism, ...] an urgent charting of the [...]m problems and perspectives [of con]temporary poetry. In fact, the [book is] made up of seven essays on [...] Poets—Larkin, Lowell, Ber[ryman,] Hughes, Plath, Gunn, and [the Bla]ck Mountain school—which [have] little unity of concern beyond [the fact] that they were all delivered [as extra]-mural lectures in the Uni[versity] of London. Mr. Dodsworth, [to do h]im justice, doesn't pretend [that the] book coheres, and says as [much in] his preface ; but then it is [hard] to see why a set of lectures [without] an organizing theme should [be sav]ed, by the suggestiveness of [...] and the editor's wide-rang[ing intro]ductory reflections, as some[thing c]onsiderably more entertaining and diagnostic than they [...] are. Maybe Mr. Dodsworth was slightly disturbed by [...] himself : at any rate, [his intro]duction qualifies his com[ment i]n the preface that the [contribut]ors share no single view[point,] suggesting that the poets [under di]scussion do, after all, have [somethin]g in common over and [above th]eir high reputations. What they share, he claims, is a tradition of speaking in a distinctively individual voice from within their societies : they "proclaim their own individuality to a world increasingly indifferent to the idea of the individual". This seems a tenuous, conveniently elastic sort of connexion to make : certainly a tame, all-purpose kind of conclusion to settle on, after the preceding, much more stringently perceptive, survey of various contemporary alternatives. If an "individual speaking voice" can shut Larkin and Berryman within the same covers, why can't it rope in sixty other poets, from Brian Patten to Elizabeth Jennings ? And would anything have been proved if it did ? Mr. Dodsworth's sociological categories ("the idea of the individual" versus "the levelling process") have as much analytic precision as Matthew Arnold's : which is to say, in terms of any *specific* attention to the role of poetry within the tensions and forces of its society, almost none at all.

If the problem of adjusting a general introductory thesis to particular analyses is implicit in the structure of the book, it also crops up within the analyses themselves. Anthony Thwaite's essay on Philip Larkin is a relaxed, discursive, unsystematic piece, moving almost at random from the odd scrap of biography to the odd critical insight, without ever getting close enough to the poems themselves. We are left at a level of lame generality ("This great blankness at the heart of things has to be endured . . .") which recurs too often elsewhere in the volume. Thus, Ted Hughes's best poems (according to Derwent May) are those which "reveal clues to possible joys and satisfactions for man in the life of nature", and "he has an exceptional gift for making words act out the processes they are describing". Yet these limp commonplaces emerge out of some acutely intelligent *local* analysis of Hughes's poetry : and in this sense the essay is symptomatic of a general methodological uncertainty detectable in several of the chapters. Martin Dodsworth's illuminating contributions on Berryman and Gunn are a case in point : the overall pattern and direction of the Berryman piece come precariously close to being submerged beneath a resourceful amassing of particular insights, while the essay on Gunn dips a tentative toe into the tides of Heideggerian existentialism and then hesitates, uncertain whether to wade through or scramble out. A parallel maladjustment, between general commentary and detailed probing occurs in Professor Davie's uncharacteristically low-keyed and uncritical reflection on Black Mountain poetry, which manages to quote a four-and-a-half-page stretch of Ed Dorn with no detailed critical comments at all.

Two essays stand out in this volume : Gabriel Pearson on Robert Lowell, and Barbara Hardy on Sylvia Plath. Mr. Pearson's high-powered, dense and elliptical survey of Lowell's development, which takes as its centre Lowell's deployment of self-consciously literary modes as a way of confronting the devastations of his society, represents a genuinely original (if occasionally over-subjective) contribution to American literary criticism ; and Professor Hardy's sensitive, delicate yet coolly balanced piece on Sylvia Plath, which argues for the elements of affirmation and imaginative enlargement in the poetry, is a valuable counterweight to the conventional casework approach. Both of these chapters display qualities too little in evidence elsewhere : in the case of Gabriel Pearson, a productive interaction of intelligent generalization with local dissection ; in the case of Barbara Hardy, a tactfully systematic method which contrasts with the sense of flitting from insight to insight discernible in some other contributions. For anyone seeking a valuable collection of such insights, these essays—and those by Martin Dodsworth and Derwent May not least—should prove rewarding : it is the question of what total pattern they compose, and how far that pattern measures up to the promise of the title, which remains problematical.

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Twins plus one

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, HENRY STEELE COMMAGER and WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG :
The Growth of the American Republic
Sixth edition.
Volume I: 921pp. £3 10s. Volume II: 910pp. £3 15s.
Oxford University Press.

The addition of a new contributor to the most celebrated of American historical textbooks, "Morison and Commager", is an historiographical event, and Professor Leuchtenburg is fit to join the great twin brethren. Of course, the addition of another contributor presents serious difficulties, though the whole work has been revised by its original authors. Fortunately, the characteristics of the original "Morison and Commager" remain, and this was not just a textbook. A good many teachers of American history, and even more students of American history, will enjoy checking the new text against the old.

It is hardly necessary to say that no system of collaboration could quite destroy the special character of the contribution of Admiral Morison, and no pathologically purist attempt has been made to harmonize the contributions of the three authors; but on the whole the collaboration has been successful. Naturally, the common, and even the uncommon, reader will turn with most curiosity to Professor Leuchtenburg's contribution. It is very difficult to write contemporary history, and not all the difficulties have been overcome; but to an astonishing degree most of them have, and Professor Leuchtenburg has shown a judicious—though it would be something of an exaggeration to say totally impartial—treatment of the most recent years of American history.

It is almost impossible in a collaborative work of this kind, running right down to modern times (getting as far as the voyage of Messrs. Borman, Lovell and Anders to the dark side of the moon and the activities of Vice-President-elect Agnew), to produce the smooth finish that other well-known college texts have provided—at the considerable expense of vivacity and interest. Professor Leuchtenburg—and, one suspects, his collaborators—understand the debilitating effect of the long and unsuccessful war in South-East Asia, a war that seems endless and fruitless. The drabness and the violence of the presidential election of 1968 are fully brought out—as they were in the last speech President Kennedy ever made, symbolically on the day before his assassination, when he warned an audience at Fort Worth: "This is a dangerous and uncertain world. . . . No one expects our lives to be easy—not in this decade, not in this century." Nothing that has happened since has invalidated this gloomy prophecy.

The new edition of what is now Morison, Commager and Leuchtenburg makes manifest one of its great advantages over other textbooks: the willingness of the authors to stick their collective or individual necks out. So Professor Leuchtenburg is following in an august succession when he lays down the law on some bitterly contested issues. Since we are told that President Kennedy was the youngest man ever elected to his great office, we could also have been told that President Eisenhower was, when he left the White House, the oldest. There is some significance in that, although it would be a little difficult to say what. It is not quite certain whether Professor Leuchtenburg is ironical or just plain hostile when he quotes Justice Frankfurter on the power of Congress to take away the rights of American citizens—a power which Justice Frankfurter, himself a naturalized Viennese, might have been expected to be particularly sensitive about. The allusion to West Berlin as "a glittering jewel in the drab fabric of East Germany" will surprise people who have seen West Berlin, even in its greatly improved present-day condition. Professor Max Lerner's description of the uniformity and close comradeship of the new American suburbs ignores the fact that many of these suburbs are themselves racially segregated, as can be seen, for example, in some of the very rich suburbs of Connecticut.

It might be noted that in the various riots (apart from those in Washington) it was the Negroes who suffered most from the vigorous methods of the forces of law and order. "Order reigns in Newark" was a variation on a celebrated comment on the supression of the Poles in Warsaw in 1831. More could have been said of the repulsive ugliness of such cities as Gary, Indiana, and East St. Louis, Illinois. Undoubtedly it is the terrible degradation of much of the inner core of American cities that both accounts for and almost justifies a great deal of the crime with which they are afflicted. Nevertheless, this new edition of *The Growth of the American Republic*—if it lacks some of the spirit, energy, and attractive idiosyncrasy of Admiral Morison's *Oxford History of the American People*—still deserves its primacy as the best of all textbooks on modern American history.

Earlier dissidents

STAUGHTON LYND :
Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism
184pp. Faber and Faber. 30s.

Professor Staughton Lynd is one of the most interesting and intelligent leaders of the vague group of dissident Americans which is often called the New Left. He is, of course, a serious academic historian in the traditional sense, but his *Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism*, in some places more than interesting, is not by the strictest academic standards up to his usual form. Perhaps this is the result more of his subject than of any weaknesses in Professor Lynd's equipment or his power of exposition. The great flaw of the book is that it exaggerates the importance of the dissidents whose activities Professor Lynd chronicles. It is one of the drawbacks of being a dissident on the extreme Left (or the extreme Right) that the conviction of righteousness forces the hand of the propagandist to make claims for the importance of movements which did not deserve quite as much attention as Professor Lynd gives to some of the obscure radicals.

Possibly because the book is not very well organized—it is a series of essays of varying merit rather than a coherent thesis—Professor Lynd jumps back to Winstanley and forward to Charles Sumner in a somewhat bewildering way. at any rate, it will be bewildering to many English readers who will find it hard to identify some of the figures Professor Lynd wishes to discuss. The course of American history does not justify the amount of attention given here to often quite minor polemical writers. We could do, for example, with more on Thomas Paine. American radicalism, in Professor Lynd's sense, has been, perhaps regrettably, of no great force in American history, and certainly the state of its activities today does not suggest that the radical tradition is usefully potent.

The book is welcome all the same. Some of the almost forgotten writers Professor Lynd deals with do deserve more serious attention than they have normally got. The role of the English Dissenters in the creation of radical ideology in America is an important theme, though it is treated rather scrappily. That there was a good deal of rational revolutionary argument in the Colonies before they became the United States is worth stressing.

But the fact remains that most of the intellectual heroes whom Professor Lynd deals with were ineffectual, were prophets crying to a very inattentive audience. And perhaps it is not out of place to mention that Professor Lynd pulls his punches when discussing the political role of the Quakers. Benjamin might have been amused at the picture of in the Colonies and in States, Professor Lynd sionally note that not were consistent disciples Fox—even William Pen But excessive emphasis the part played by the the creation of a radical ideology. After all, it is portant that Philadelphia been a centre of radical theory, and that, for the United States was many ways by people being Quakers either in in temperament. Not a vism of the Friends, alth commoner in America tion and, indeed, in some writing than Professor gests, is unjustified. And sive about the ambiguo Thoreau. As a martyr, rank very high, though and a philosophical deserves serious literary Professor Lynd's refere Russian soviets is quite it is almost impossible that he thinks that the original meaning of played much part in revolution after the Bol over, and consequently ple is of very little use anarchist, as Professor to be.

On the waterfront

JAMES MORRIS :
The Great Port
223pp. Faber and Faber. £2 5s.

Mr. Morris, the peripatetic spice blender, here brings his delicate palate and observant smile to the Port of New York. He begins with amiable candour. Until the Port Authority put the idea of the book into his head, he writes,

> During my own visits to New York I had seldom thought of the city as a port at all: from high skyscraper rooms in mid-Manhattan I might sometimes glimpse liner sidling behind the apartment blocks, but the waterfront and its life seemed only incidental, or marginal, to the affairs of the city.

Observers who first came to the city by water and had a view of Lady Liberty from an office window for years may have a different subjective emphasis, but Mr. Morris's first surprise is valid. The port's breath is everywhere, but you have to look for its heavings. "Most New Yorkers look as though they have never set eyes on a ship", Mr. Morris observes, before describing the comical landlubberliness of a "very average Brooklyn family"; yet a few pages later he is back to the incomparably vast maritime statistics, to clams and yachts and chandlers and harbour pilots. He finds that on the port depends a quarter of the huge wealth of the city, and concludes:

> New Yorkers like salt more than sugar, and do not yearn for *politesse*—just as they have no gift for leisure. They are, rich or poor, black or white, native-born or immigrant, only the children of their harbour, which has lived always by no-holds-barred, and where nothing stays the same.

Skimming his way over such paradox—and who with such a subject can be expected to separate brute fact from metaphor—Mr. Morris triumphantly develops his theme: that New York Bay always has been a hub of natural functional movement.

In this exposition he does not miss a trick. Long before Verrazano sailed into the bay, in 1524, the birds' trunk route for migration passed over New York. Indians (at least according to "one incorrigible romantic") set the value of their clam shells as a medium of exchange more or less on the site of Wall Street.

Mr. Morris notes the incredible climate ("officially described as *temperate*, but with its miserable extremes of heat, blizzard and humidity, interspersed with glorious intervals of sparkle, it strikes me rather as *theatrical*"). Then, with the topography agreeably established with a helicopter trip round the bay, we are fairly on the way.

For the most part Mr. Morris keeps his feet, and nothing is easier than to be stupefied by New York. He manages to be at once elegant and comprehensive, selecting judiciously and generalizing with more grace than most and as convincingly as anyone.

In the end he confesses himself trapped by the great port. He "loathed it like a lover". He came to feel

> that if we take New York as the archetype of our Western urban civilization, it is not because human nature is nastier than we supposed, nor because of transient antagonisms of colour, but because here the pace of material progress is set, the progress of perpetual change, which stimulates the spirit too far, cuts us off from the springs of certainty, and leaves us spinning nervously and testily from unnecessary challenge to trumped-up response.

Well, one can see what he means. It sure is quite a place. Perhaps in some respects it is not so distinctive as Mr. Morris implies. Most big waterside cities, as well as New York and his beloved Venice, are largely built on rubbish used as fill. The peculiar Italian-English of Little Italy can still be savoured in pockets all the way up the coast beyond Rhode Island. Midwesterners nowadays are just as likely as New Yorkers to retire to Florida or California, and the dramatic skip by helicopter from a last ride on the Erie-Lackawanna ferry to JFK and a flight to Europe is more commonplace than it seems—for the eminent and their reporters all over the world.

Sometimes, too, the paradox becomes top-heavy. "In a city notorious for accumulated wealth", says Mr. Morris on one page, "most New Yorkers I know really do not set much store upon possessions." Twelve pages later, interviewing a very rich man among very expensive fixings, he has this to say:

> At first I distrusted my host's infatuation for these things, having a prejudice against connoisseurs anyway, and detesting the degradation of art into an investment, but presently I realized that he really loved his possessions. He showed them to me with affection.

Yet . . . the whole lot . . . fashment seemed to me . . . possible . . . It was a millionaire might decide . . . rip it all up and start again.

This is imagination with . . . edge, a Comic vein . . . come, easy go". Some . . . Mr. Morris lets work . . . with him. He uses "gen . . . tamly to mean not b . . . buries Ammann, the br . . . a year early. Still, he is n . . . a standard work or a . . . manual. What he has fo . . . of the great little boo . . . lopolis, easily read . . . memorable.

Memorial

Washington

An abridgment in one . . . Richard Harwell of the e . . . George Washington . . . Southall Freeman.

780pp. Eyre and Spottis . . .

The first six volumes of . . . biography were publish . . . 1949 and 1955. "If a gre . . . life of Washington was to . . . there could be no doub . . . Freeman was the man to . . . (*TLS*, April 2, 1949). "H . . . ship and objectivity bring . . . to Dr. Freeman and to . . . that Washington is now . . . standable as a human being . . . easily classed as an histo . . . than he has ever been bef . . . May 9, 1952). Freeman . . . completing the sixth volum . . . seventh and last was a prize . . . Alexander Carroll and M . . . Ashworth. "Fortunate . . . Washington has been forme . . . great memorial to his fame . . . April 4, 1958).

Freeman's *Washington* . . . magnificent monument . . . for the common reader, e . . . British common reader, . . . probably too reverential . . . more satisfactory for . . . reader. This abridgment . . . able "reduction" and . . . ingenious cutting and . . . good judgment, Dr. Ha . . . made the "Father of his . . . less like Caymandias and . . . a living memorial old or . . . done in more scholarly . . . Plutarch ever achieved.

s the Romans saw themselves

M. JONES (Editor) :
istory of Rome through the Fifth Century
me II: The Empire.
. Macmillan. £5.
per and Row. Paperback. 37s.

STORONI MAZZOLANI :
den of the City in Roman ght
lated by S. O'Donnell.
Hollis and Carter. £2 5s.

n history still starts at Oxford, sort of way, with Diocletian; mbridge an effort to start it as as 1500 ("Are you at Peter- ? How prehistoric"), has ered. In fact all history is one , and its division into ancient, al and modern should be no than a working convenience, as gnized by the "Documentary y of Western Civilization" s first volume on Ancient and its last on the Second War. You can teach history ctures ("The next slide shows y of Naples. The mountain uvius which erupted in A.D. ried Pompeii and Herculaneum lled the elder Pliny, who wrote even books of *Natural His-*); you can teach it from text- but textbooks tend to be any- but stimulating; or you can *students* the chance of reading some of the sources inevitably in certain cases (like Ancient Greece and Rome) in translation. In the case of Rome this admirable idea was first put into practice by Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold, who produced two excellent volumes on "Roman Civilization", one on the Republic and one on the Empire, which have been widely used, particularly in the United States, where ancient history is studied quite often as part of an undergraduate course even by those majoring in such remote subjects as dentistry.

The late Professor A. H. M. Jones, then, was commissioned to do what Lewis and Reinhold had done already, for the difference in title has no great significance. The first volume, on the Republic, was published a few years ago. Here is the second volume, on the Empire, a magnificently printed and produced book. The question for teachers will be whether to use R-I or Jones. On the Republic R-I covered a considerably broader field; on both Republic and Empire it has a very good and extensive bibliography, while Jones's bibliography is singularly eclectic: a small number of books, many of which have long been out of print.

Still, the sources themselves are what matter, and for the history of the Roman Empire they exist in wide variety: the writings of ancient historians, pagan and Christian; letters; charters; petitions; imperial edicts and rescripts; engraved records of individuals' careers; military documents of every kind from pay-sheets and duty rosters to soldiers' private correspondence; customs tariffs; taxation documents; the opinions of the jurists; a broad range of administrative regulations.

Jones goes forward as far as the fifth century, while R-I stopped with Constantine. R-I, is again more comprehensive, with a quarter of a million as against about 150,000 words. Inevitably a great number of the sources and indeed the translations are common to both books, though Jones supplies many of his own translations, particularly of inscriptions. Jones is probably the easier to use, for the reason that it is slanted towards "history" rather than "civilization". In fact it bears the stamp of all Jones's work: admirable clarity and logic of arrangement. Naturally it has not the importance of his master-work, the *History of the Later Roman Empire*, which he completed, and the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, which was his own conception and which, most happily, he had already launched before his death. But this is the work which, so long as ancient history is studied at all, will place every young student most deeply in his debt.

These source books give an admirable picture of the external side of Roman life and history. But what, all the time, were people thinking about civilized life? What development was there in such thought from the early Republic through Cicero's *De Republica* to Augustine's *Civitas Dei*? This is the subject of Signora Lidia Storoni Mazzolani, winner of the Premio Viareggio Opera Prima in 1967. To say that her book no doubt reads better in Italian is no insult to the translator, who has done his work admirably; but it is, perhaps, a book with an Italian rather than an English complexion: "Supreme power over the whole world, divine gifts of wisdom and intuition; such are the marks of the man of destiny"; "Octavian was especially sensitive to the yearning for self-affirmation which was active in the Roman soul"; "The vast frontier territories of the Empire seem to fray like a tattered cloak, and soak up the *slime* of barbarism."

The Roman aristocracy of the Republic was parochial in its outlook. Greeks, conscious of their own superior culture, cocked snooks at their uncultured conquerors, and were often more venomous than that. Of the great war-lords of the late Republic "some talked of Alexander" (but never, one suspects, of Alexander and the Unity of Mankind). Then, with Augustus, after the confrontation of East and West in battle, the West struck back: Rome with its own culture, centre of a world-empire which was, to all intents and purposes, as wide as the *oikoumene*. "Augustus tried to give the Empire a strictly Latin moral stamp, by sanctifying ancient customs, rites and traditions." This was imperial Rome, and Alaric's sack of the city in 410 was the end of it. The adoption of Christianity had not been a true triumph, for it was a Christianity tainted with paganism, with Rome still the capital city and, under Theodosius, an intolerance as ruthless as pagan intolerance had once been. So, after the deluge, Augustine reshaped Christian thought "so as to eliminate intrusive theological elements which were still contaminated by ethical and rationalist ideas of pagan origin". This is the general scheme of Signora Mazzolani's book.

It is a book about thought and thinkers, and it gets better as it goes on, because the material is better. To seek to trace the development of Cicero's thought, for example, from his forensic speeches is not a particularly profitable exercise. And little attention is paid to some historical facts which would seem to have a considerable relevance to the theme of the book: the fact which Philip V so rightly stressed, that enfranchised slaves in Rome became Roman citizens; the unification of Italy after the Social War; the conversion of Constantine, and, oddly, because we know a lot about his thinking, Julian and the pagan revival in the fourth century.

At times this book assumes a little too easily that the attested thought and speech of individuals (Aelius Aristides's Roman oration, for instance) was the current thought of Romans at large. Yet if, too often, it may seem to have its head in the cloud, there are times in the account, for instance, of Octavian's climb to power or the horror of life in the third century—when it has its feet very firmly planted on the ground.

omme continued

W. GOMME, A. ANDREWES and K. J. DOVER :
Historical Commentary on Thucydides
me IV: Books V. 25 to VII.
Clarendon Press: Oxford rsity Press. £5.

Professor Gomme died with- nishing his great work on ides, the benefit he had given historical studies in many seemed all the greater by for being so abruptly There were the books of ides on which we had 's commentary and those on it was missing: the difference most like that of the years and not covered by a pri- rce. It was essential that commentary should be o.

w have a fourth volume from the second part of ides's histories, after the ten- with the peace that did not ending with the Sicilian dis- mme's commentary on what of Book Five has been nd completed by Professor s and the rest by Professor They would themselves be to regret that little of the mbs of learning and judg- ch Gomme had elaborated ished commentaries was to ng among his incomplete for the last books; but the the new commentary and is substance belong to him. supplementary work of Andrewes in Book Five is so full of learning and sense, that one almost great commentary was not ginally from the beginning. Dover has had less of material to work on, and ent commentary he himself ves the familiar character- is style of scholarship. He us, tacitly and sometimes ly widely read; but his style d less ruminative than that e. . . .

d to assess a new commen- old author. Thucydides commentary, because not discussions but also new ntinually change our ideas history, all of which in this ased on his text. The first commentary is to make level, informed, modern consensus—wherever this exists—on the problems Thucydides raises. This task is almost perfectly performed by Gomme, Andrewes and Dover. Beyond that there is the question of individual problems: no continuous commentary can immediately command universal assent about all of them. It is an important and, alas, uncommon achievement that in these matters the present commentary is at least never eccentric or ill-informed. The last task of a commentary on Thucydides, even when it is historical as this one is, would be to illuminate not only the subject-matter of Thucydides but his writing, and here Professor Dover's literary scholarship will certainly be helpful to a whole generation of students.

On the other hand there are opportunities missed, as perhaps there were bound to be: the question of whether the historical inevitability of which one has so strong a sense in the last stages of the catastrophe in Sicily belongs to Thucydides's prose style or to his historical judgment is hardly raised, and yet it is a question of a crucial kind. However, it is only the sharp knife that can cut deep, and through these classic chapters so stringent a companion as Professor Dover is to be preferred to more metaphysical styles of comment. The merit of his treatment of what is, after all, one of the world's great masterpieces of literature is simply that it is very useful, and that is the principal quality of this whole valuable series of commentaries.

The excursus on the Herms and the Mysteries is a modest-looking but important contribution to scholarship: we are at a stage and in an area where judgment and lucidity are far more to the point than ingenious originality. The element which inspires most confidence throughout this volume is that arguments are clearly marshalled and that in general one can be certain no evidence has been neglected; it has a quality of reliability. Maps are clearly drawn and sufficiently numerous, and there are volume indexes which one hopes will be subsumed in the last volume into indexes to cover the entire work. The authors have earned the great gratitude not only of ancient historians but of anyone who, reading Thucydides, needs quickly to refer to a sound opinion on any of several hundreds of difficult individual points.

Punishment fitting the criminal

PETER GARNSEY :
Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire
320pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £3 5s.

Britain has recently had cause to interest itself in the question whether educated students who, in pursuit of what seems to them a noble cause, create a public shambles should receive the same kind of punishment as would be meted out to uneducated louts who, in pursuit of no ideal at all, created a shambles of a similar sort. A Roman governor of Britain, putting the question to a Roman emperor in the second century A.D., would have received a sharp retort: he must act in accordance with the social status of the offenders. Were they of the better sort, *honestiores*, sons of senators, equites, town councillors *(decuriones)* or veteran soldiers? Or were they inferiors, *humiliores*? In the former case exile would be the proper penalty, for a longer or shorter period (in the students' case, sending down or rustication, in modern university jargon); in the latter case they should be sentenced to *custodia*, again for a longer or shorter period—not imprisonment (because the Romans never gave prison sentences) but hard labour, perhaps in the mines.

No wonder in these egalitarian anti-imperialist days some hold that in the Roman empire all was for the worst in the worst of all possible worlds. "It could be said of the Roman legal system", Dr. Garnsey writes, "that its pervasion by improper influences made equality before the law unobtainable. . . . The judicial system at its best was still far from equitable because it was permeated by influences which, in Roman eyes, were perfectly proper." Of how many countries in how many periods of their history could it be asserted with confidence that neither verdicts nor sentences have ever been uninfluenced by extraneous considerations? The peculiarity of the Romans was that they made no bones about it. They had their own very individual conception of *dignitas*. Also it was expedient to prop up the classes on whom the empire chiefly depended for its government and administration.

Most of Dr. Garnsey's material comes from the Digest and is not earlier than the second century A.D. It calls for sagacity of interpretation, for the text is often in dispute, the rulings of emperors on individual cases may be setting, but may merely be following, precedents; and the comments of the jurists are statements usually about contemporary law. So the question arises whether, in adapting penalties to the social status of the offender, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius bluzed a new trail or whether they were following established general principles. Dr. Garnsey's careful examination of the evidence suggests that the latter was the case.

Though the words *honestiores* and *humiliores* (or their synonyms) are frequently employed by emperors and jurists, no precise definition of either class survives; the differentiat ley in birth, wealth, status, undefined but evidently easily understood. But in the provinces there was the further distinction in the first two centuries A.D. between those who possessed Roman citizenship and those who did not, and from the histories of the early Empire, from the *Acts*, and from Pliny's Letters we know that this too made for differences both in trial and punishment. Dr. Garnsey, who has his own not very attractive explanation of Paul's "appeal" for trial at Rome, thinks that, as against the distinction *honestiores-humiliores*, citizenship mattered less and less and that, even in the first century A.D., a poor and inferior person was helped little by the fact of being a Roman citizen. But would a Roman official have classed Paul among the *honestiores*?

The book is chiefly concerned with criminal trials (including a long account of the senate's persistent claim that a senator should be tried before his peers), but Dr. Garnsey considers civil trials also, investigating some of the questions which Professor Kelly has recently examined so profitably: how, for instance, was it possible for a poor man of little consequence, if he sued one of his betters, to ensure that the accused turned up in court at all? *Dignitas*, again, is the answer. If some underling had the impertinence to summon you, it would look bad if you did not turn up in court. Anyhow, you were unlikely to lose the case if you did.

Roman criminal law tends, with one or two distinguished exceptions, to be disregarded by Roman lawyers in English-speaking countries. So, with the great precedents of Strachan-Davidson and Greenidge, it is an excellent thing that a small number of Roman historians have recently turned to the consideration of Roman law, particularly in its impact on social history. Dr. Garnsey is a welcome addition to their number. His book is full of interest, well argued, and extremely readable.

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Mill and inductivism

ALAN RYAN:
The Philosophy of John Stuart Mill
268pp. Macmillan. £3 10s.
Pantheon (Trans-Atlantic Book Service). Paperback. 28s.

John Stuart Mill was not a great philosopher; he was a thinker of great influence. The influence has been most marked, and has proved most durable, in social philosophy. Mill's *System of Logic* and *Principles of Political Economy* have a place in the history of their respective disciplines. *Utilitarianism* continues to be a helpful introduction to ethical theory. The essay *On Liberty*, however, always was and still is a key work of social thought. The young student who pays polite attention to *Utilitarianism* sits up when he reads *the Liberty*. It says what he feels: be yourself and do your own thing. Mill expresses better than anyone else the cardinal value that sustains liberal democracy—choosing for oneself.

Mr. Alan Ryan's interest in Mill evidently began with the essay *On Liberty*, which he discusses from a new perspective in the last chapter of *The Philosophy of John Stuart Mill*. But his book is mainly about Mill's logic and philosophy of science. He says that his aim "is to present John Stuart Mill as the author of a philosophical system, a system which I shall call 'inductivism'". When he comes down to details, however, the system is hard to find.

It seems that Mill began his thoughts on logic and scientific method with the idea that proof and explanation were deductive, then decided that they were not, but never made clear to himself what exactly the alternative was. It was certainly not simple induction, that is, reasoning with probability from particular instances to a general conclusion. According to Mr. Ryan's interpretation of Mill, "real" inference proceeds from known particulars to unknown particulars, using a generalization as a "rule of inference". This, Mr. Ryan tells us, is not the same as deducing particular conclusions from a generalization taken as a premise.

On Mr. Ryan's view, deduction is still important for Mill as a test but not as a proof. That may seem a distinction without a difference, unless "proof" is taken to mean the psychological process of discovery. Now Sir Karl Popper has argued persuasively that all logic is deductive and that people like Mill, who talk of inductive logic, have confused logic with an account of the psychological process of forming an hypothesis from which one can make deductions. Mr. Ryan answers this objection on behalf of Mill. Popper presupposes that the conclusions of science are hypotheses which can be proved false but cannot be proved true. Mill does not take this view. Mill believed, so Mr. Ryan tells us here, that there are true laws of nature to be found. Yet in the end, it seems, "Mill reduces laws of nature to the rules which we consciously or unconsciously follow in linking one particular to another". That looks like going back to a psychological process after all.

When Mr. Ryan comes to discuss Mill's methodology of the social sciences, he seems to forget about inductivism. "Mill was convinced that social science had to be deductive", and in this part of the book Mill is allowed to regard not only geometry but also physics as a deductive science.

Mr. Ryan is clearer when he deals with Mill's ethics and its relation to the social sciences. Mill believed, like others before and after him, that there was an easy way out of the problem of free will. He was a determinist and thought that determinism can accommodate choice so long as determinism is not confused with external compulsion. Mr. Ryan shows that Mill overlooks some essential things. When determinism comes in at the door, responsibility flies out at the window. Related difficulties face Mill's attempt to reconcile utilitarianism with the idea of justice, and Mr. Ryan is equally clear in bringing out these difficulties and in connecting them with the objections to determinism.

In his discussion of Mill's ethics, Mr. Ryan relies heavily on the last chapter of the *System of Logic*, where Mill treats value judgments as precepts or imperatives, and where he distinguishes morality from prudence and "aesthetics" (which covers the "beautiful or noble"). The reliance is well founded, since these views were elaborated by Mill in the third edition of the *Logic* a few years before he wrote *On Liberty* and *Utilitarianism*. Mr. Ryan is not altogether successful in his use of this material. There is some confusion in the particular way he applies Mill's view of value judgments as imperatives to the statement in *Utilitarianism* that ultimate ends cannot be proved. Mill states plainly that they cannot be proved because they are ultimate, not—as Mr. Ryan thinks—because they are ends. Nevertheless Mr. Ryan does make a contribution that is both new and important concerning Mill's distinction between morality and aesthetics. He shows that for Mill the "higher pleasures" in *Utilitarianism* and self-development in the *Liberty* have "aesthetic", not moral, value. As a result he gives Mill's position, especially in the *Liberty*, a novel outline that makes it all the more distinctive.

Expositions of Kant

H. B. ACTON:
Kant's Moral Philosophy
71pp. Macmillan. 10s.

J. D. McFARLAND:
Kant's Concept of Teleology
150pp. University of Edinburgh Press. £2.

These are two well-constructed, lucid and agreeably unpretentious books on important parts of Kant's work. Professor Acton's monograph on Kant's ethics, though intended mainly for students, nevertheless contains original exegetic and critical remarks which deserve the close attention of everybody for whom Kant's problems and approach are important. Professor McFarland's critical survey of Kant's teleological doctrines in the *Critique of Judgment* and in his minor writings is addressed to more advanced readers. Its main purpose is to remove obscurities and ambiguities in Kant's theory and to trace the origin of some of them. Although its intention is not primarily pedagogic, this book, too, can be warmly recommended to students. Neither of these books, devoted to particular aspects of the critical philosophy, ever loses sight of the whole Kantian system or of the historical background against which it is developed.

Professor Acton deliberately follows the method of exposition adopted by Kant in the *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*. He tries to explain Kant's ethics through its real or alleged relations to the moral common sense of all humanity or, at least, of Kant's contemporaries. He starts by analysing different kinds of practical motives and by distinguishing between those that are wholly irrational, those that are prudential and those that are wholly rational and moral. This analysis leads quite naturally to an examination of the concepts of duty, of a practical maxim and of the categorical imperative as the formal principle by which the morality or otherwise of any practical maxim can be tested. There follow concise and helpful explanations of the application of the moral law to concrete situations, of Kant's conception of moral autonomy, of the freedom of the will and of the relation between morality and religion.

Connoisseurs of the vast literature are likely to find Professor Acton's historical and critical remarks the most attractive features of *Kant's Moral Philosophy*. Among the former the comparison of Kant's ethics with Hume's moral theory deserves particular attention, especially since in Professor Acton's view Hume had to reinstate Reason under the unlikely pseudonym of Imagination. As a critic of the Kantian ethics Professor Acton is not satisfied with repeating the standard objections to Kant's attempt at deriving concrete duties from the application of the moral law to practical maxims. He hints in addition at a possible way of bridging the gap between the formal law and concrete duty by means of a theory of ideals of the kind proposed in the 1920s by the German philosopher Leonard Nelson.

Professor McFarland begins *Kant's Concept of Teleology* with a lucid and precise exposition of Kant's philosophy of science, which for Kant was—at least during the greater part of his life—identical with Newtonian science. He then shows that, and why, purely mechanical concepts do not seem to be sufficient if one is to find nature, and in particular organic nature, intelligible. Professor McFarland then traces the subtle connexions between Kant's analysis of the teleological concepts of purpose and design, his theory of the ideas as heuristic, regulative and systematizing concepts, and his theology. By doing so with great care and empathy he draws attention to certain tensions between Kant's mechanistic philosophy of science and his attempt at doing justice to biology.

Once again, the comparison between Kant's and Hume's philosophy deserves special attention—this time their theories of the relation between natural teleology and natural theology. Professor McFarland argues that Kant never fully grasped the distinction between the external purposiveness of a mechanical artefact, deriving from an artificer, and the internal purposiveness of a "self-organizing" system such as an animal or plant. Since his distinction is clearly and explicitly made in *Hume's Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, especially in his objections to the argument from design, Professor McFarland raises the interesting historical question whether Hume by his *Dialogues* awoke Kant for a second time from his dogmatic slumbers. The answer seems to be that he did not, because Kant's teleological thinking was too firmly committed to the inappropriate model of the mechanical artefact.

These two books are in many ways complementary and will make enjoyable and instructive reading for anybody who takes philosophy seriously.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Religious Writings, edited by Ronald Grimsley (403pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £3 10s.) assembles texts which have hitherto remained dispersed among the many volumes of Rousseau's complete works and correspondence. The editor supplies notes and introductory comments to each text, or group of texts, indicating its place in Rousseau's religious development.

Worth reviving?

W. D. HUDSON:
Reason and Right
A Critical Examination of Richard Price's Moral Philosophy.
205pp. Macmillan. £4 10s.

Mr. Hudson has analysed and discussed Richard Price's book, *A Review of the Principal Questions and Difficulties in Morals*, with great thoroughness. First published in 1758, it constitutes, as Mr. Hudson says, a part of "the great eighteenth-century debate about the nature and content of conscience". It is therefore to be related, as far as its theory of knowledge goes, to the works of Locke, and, as far as concerns morality, especially to the works of Hume. Unfortunately, Price does not stand comparison with either of these better known philosophers. Indeed it may be questioned whether it was really worth while to expound his views at such length.

The difficulty is partly that Mr. Hudson does not make it absolutely clear whom he is writing for. Presumably historians of ideas would want either to read Price for themselves or alternatively to have a much wider and more general account of eighteenth-century thought. For philosophers, as opposed to historians, the style of exposition of such debates as that about ethical naturalism is perhaps unduly elementary, and assumes no previous knowledge of this somewhat overworked subject. There are certainly interesting questions raised in the course of the book, but they are embedded in much material of less interest. Moreover the style of thought sometimes appears to be rather careless. For example, objecting to Price's suggestion that it is by intellectual intuition that we know beyond doubt that promise-keeping is right, Mr. Hudson says:

> So far from its being psychologically impossible to disapprove of keeping a promise, many of us manage to do so, in the case of our own promises at any rate: and we quite o... ourselves . . . when we f... our word, that it will be ... in the long run.

Now this sort of carel... not be very important, b... ing about morals one s... be meticulous about the ... such expressions as "... simply because it is wi... thing, namely what such ... really mean, that much of ... cussion is concerned. And ... be right to assume that ... of something in general ... with persuading ourselves ... particular case, the upsh... the best in the long run.

But, in the end, the m... book must be judged by ... of the case for reviving ... self. The position he tri... lish is that, despite the ... Locke, reason is capable ... plying us with new ideas ... quite distinct from the id... senses. The existence of ... perties of things, such ... being fitting, is learnt ... or intellectual intuition, ... derstanding which is, Pri... faculty of the soul total... from sense. Mathematical ... ideas of necessity and ... are said to be ideas of ... standing. Not all such ... simple; but some are, a... of right is one of them. ... of this discussion may, ... related fairly easily to ... of W. D. Ross and G. E. ... the early part of this ce... Ross and Moore themselv... somewhat antiquated look ... not clear that there is a ... intrinsic philosophical ... notions of different facul... soul, nor anything that ... bute to the understanding ... in the idea that rightness ... erty of actions identical ... property of fittingness. ... help reflecting that, often, ... philosophers are neglected ... reason. Mr. Hudson's own ... moral philosophy seem ... interesting than those of ...

Disputing games

C. L. HAMBLIN:
Fallacies
326pp. Methuen. £2 15s.

Psychologists of perception sometimes study illusions in order to illuminate the processes of normal perception. Might not the logician study fallacies in order to cast light upon the processes of valid reasoning? Professor Hamblin's thesis seems to be that logicians should in a sense do just this, but that the general pattern of the history of logic suggests other preoccupations. On the one hand, formal logicians have confined themselves to limited, if ideal, patterns of argument, ignoring the patterns which in Greek thought were allocated to dialectic. The study of fallacies, on the other hand, seems often to have been carried on as if for its own sake, producing a disordered and chaotic scheme of things in which tradition has held sway. *Fallacies* is devoted, first, to an historical survey of that tradition and parallel traditions, such as that found in India. The second part seeks to give an account of philosophical argument in a wide sense, together with observations on the general notion of validity and an attempt to set up systems or "games" of disputation with definite rules—something that he calls "formal dialectic".

Professor Hamblin is more successful in the first part of the book than in the second. His account of the history of the study of fallacy is a mine of information about the highways and by-ways of the subject. It is often very amusing, sometimes inconsequential, but nearly always strangely interesting. One can be indebted, for example, to Professor Hamblin for his discovery or rediscovery of the medieval game of "obligation"—a game played by two participants in which the aim is for one player to maintain consistency and truth in the challenge from an opponent consistency must take ... over truth. To call this a ... course to belie the sophi... which lay behind it: for ... derived many medieval ... fallacy and paradox. ... just like the Greek "... some accounts of that ... could be "played" ... strict rules and provided ... exercise in argument.

In the second part of ... Professor Hamblin's ... effect, to set out rules ... game" of argument ... One of his claims is that ... of fallacies has proved ... cause it was set against too ... conception of the nature ... argument. This may be ... Professor Hamblin has ... interest to say about, for ... the close connexion betwe... and truth, at least outside ... ties of formal logicians ... discussion of the theme ... somehow add up to a ... treatment of the subj... attempt to expand the ... "obligation game" into a ... erned formal dialectic ha... nates the nature of argu... general, while such discussion ... gives to the general nature ... ment is too brief and rang... be adequate: it provokes ... questions as it answers; ... comes to a sudden end ... attempt to sum up the situa... little in the way of a frame ... given to the reader.

Even if the final part of ... is a disappointment, the ... many fascinations, and ... wants information about ... of the study of fallacies ... the book very useful. ... the information has its ... judgment still holds good.

Whose policy was it?

...EL PARKINSON:
...our Party and the Organiza... Secondary Education, 1918-...
... Routledge and Kegan Paul.

...of the evolution of particu... ...ical policies have not been ... The interaction between ... which are generated out ... the development of policies ... bers of Parliament who be... ...inisters, and the development ... Service attitudes—this is ... a matter of profound im... ...s for the study of British ...ons. It must be remembered ...re are certain important un... ...facts which determine ...tus in education, until quite ..., despite considerable efforts ...ase the supply of teachers, ...s been an absolute shortage ...hers. Policies developed, ...in opposition or office, or ...ons of research, which sug... ...necessity for an increased ...chers. Such policies as, for ...the widespread opening of ...schools, inevitably shut... ...the rock of absolute teacher ...

...other hand, it is possible ...locks like this out of the ...channel. One of the few ...ments of the last Labour ...ment's dismal educational ...es: Mr. Crosland's adoption ...minority view of the ...Advisory Council on the ...and Supply of Teachers, ...increase in training provi... ...as possible, and that this ...lead to a rapid overcoming ...shortage. This indeed has ...ed and, but for the decision of ...ther London Education ...ty and other progressive ...ties last year to increase ...ployment of teachers, there ...have been unemployment ...new teachers in the autumn ...The 1970s look like being a ...which policy developments ...be inhibited by teacher ...

...areas of policy it is ideas ...an brute facts which hold ... Parkinson shows how the ...conviction of educational ...ists that children were ...three types was shared by ...tions and many politicians, ...was responsible for the ...t by the Labour Gov... 1945-1951 of the gramm... ...as we now know it. ...attempt of a minority of ...al authorities to develop ...ensive school, the main ...development occurred in ...

...opular readers

...VE BOLLEME:
...anches populaires aux ...VIIIe siècles
...Hague: Mouton. 16 Guil...

...d the study of popular ...s taken very much less ...han it is in France. The ...of Charles Nisard's *His...ires populaires* was publi... ...4, a second edition came ...ars later, and a revised, ...edition appeared in Paris ...ago. Nisard's work, still ...d, has remained the best ...to the subject, and later ...owe something to him. ...such scholarly tradition ...try, where, for the most ...been left to antiquaries ...ookbooks and ballads from ... is also true that the ...y quality and variety of ...French socio-economic ...done much to stimulate ...roaches to. "les livres ...Pierre Goubert's monu... ...of Beauvais from 1600 ...an outstanding example. ...others would not be ...

...already a number of books in French which discuss popular almanacs, and Mme. Bollème's, taking such publications of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as its theme, is a welcome addition to their number. It is divided into three parts: the first is mainly historical and traces the development of the almanac; the second deals with astrology and religion; and the final one attempts to classify the narratives contained in these little books.

This is an admirably scholarly work. With crisp expertise the author deals confidently with a subject of curiously unexpected complexity, and in most respects this essay could hardly be bettered. The lack of an index, however, is a matter for regret, and the austerity of the printed page, together with classified lists, could usefully have been relieved by the use of illustrations—those on the wrappers of the book simply whet the appetite for more.

Amongst the poor the popularity of the almanac lasted very much longer in France than it did in this country—a fact which is to be explained largely by differing patterns of religious belief, and also because in the eighteenth century the English chapbook to some extent usurped the function of the almanac. Such explanations, though, are incomplete and require to be confirmed and extended by comparative studies in popular literature.

Mme. Bollème's book, quite apart from its very considerable intrinsic interest, emphasizes by implication the need for studies of this kind. The French popular almanac was essentially a "manuel pratique de savoir vivre", and the cultural assumptions and attitudes embodied in it could usefully be compared with those which are to be found in English chapbooks.

The great value of the comparative method in social history was brilliantly demonstrated a couple of years ago by Professor Gwyn Williams in his *Artisans and Sans-Culottes*. A parallel study of popular literature, no less than political agitation and revolt, may well provide a new angle of vision from which to view the mental universe of the "menu peuple" under the ancien régime and of the poor in eighteenth-century England.

Born teacher

LEAH MANNING:
A Life for Education
263pp. Gollancz. £2 45.

If ever there was a big-hearted Momma in the House of Commons, it was Leah Manning. Despite her first name, she was of Huguenot, turned Methodist, extraction, though under the influence of Stewart Headlam she herself developed into a devout Anglican. As one reads her lively autobiography, the impression is strengthened that her left-wing reputation, based on pacifism, reconciliation with Germany after the First World War, involvement in the Spanish Civil War and opposition to German rearmament after the Second World War, has owed far more to all-embracing humanity than to dogma.

Not herself a communist, she has been disposed to regard dividing lines as unimportant. In any case, as Harry Pollitt replied when Sir Frederick Munder, then General Secretary of the N.U.T., inquired anxiously if Leah had any party standing: "We like and admire her, but this is a disciplined movement and Leah!—well, she's a complete individualist!" She has looked at problems pragmatically, rather than seeking to apply some ideological touchstone to each situation. Yet, in the 1930s, no one had a sharper nose for fascism in all its guises.

On Headlam's advice young Leah trained at Homerton and today, at eighty-four, she is still teaching. Probably her proudest moment was her election in 1929 as president of the National Union of Teachers, for whom she later worked as an officer for many years. That she has been a "born teacher" is plain. Speaking of her job as headmistress of the first open-air school at Cambridge for physically and mentally handicapped children, she comments: "I cannot think now why I gave up something so worthwhile and fulfilling for the frustrating life of politics."

But politics kept breaking in. She had joined the I.L.P. and the Fabians as a teenager and immediately on reaching Cambridge was drawn into university and local politics by young Hugh Dalton. She stayed on in Cambridge as a teacher, marrying a scientist at the observatory, a staunch Liberal, which led to complications at election times. She started the first evening play-centre in the country, with the help of Mrs. Keynes, Clara Rackham and other sympathizers, and risked dismissal by her passionate protests at the failure of the local education authority to feed the ill-fed slum children in her school. At Susan Lawrence's instigation, she tried her hand at organizing college servants and women working at Chivers, neither with great success, and helped in the foundation of Papworth village settlement for tubercular patients and their families. All the time she was active in the Cambridge Trades Council and Labour Party, and her graphic descriptions of Cambridge electioneering, including Dalton's first fight, are good reading.

Her own membership of the House of Commons was brief—first a few months only in 1931, after a far safer seat had been filched from her by Arthur Henderson, with Dalton's connivance, to be bestowed on Stafford Cripps; and then five years from 1945 to 1950. She was a hard-working and effective "House of Commons woman" as Churchill, to her evident pleasure, called her. But the time was too short and the interval too long to develop a successful career.

Besides which Leah Manning has been at her glowing best when personal action could be directly harnessed to her political idealism. Nothing shows this better than her brilliant description of how she brought 4,000 Basque children, with their escorts, out of Bilbao before it fell to Franco, in the face of every possible obstruction, including that of our own Foreign Office and Home Office.

All her chapters on the 1920s and 1930s are evocative and illuminating. Her political likes and dislikes are not minced. Morrison, Cripps, and Gaitskell she could not abide. She felt them to be calculating and not, for her, acceptable embodiments of socialist comradeship. For Attlee, by contrast, she had a most respectful regard.

"A plum among a lot of old prunes" was Nancy Astor's praise for Leah in 1931. Reading this warm-hearted, shrewd account of an impulsive but immensely useful and dedicated life, one can see why. And the book as a whole raises, by implication, a good many questions on the role of a woman in politics. Enthusiasm and ability, plus the necessary physical resilience, are not enough. One needs toughness and, on occasion, ruthlessness, which only certain women can readily command. Leah Manning was not firmly enough fixed in her ambitions to exercise such qualities effectively and occasionally, as she frankly recognizes, she was unsuspectingly naive. But that makes her none the less likable, and the book is all the more interesting for the complete openness with which she discusses her own shortcomings, as well as her successes and the more general problems of her times. It is a pity that the "silent film" cover picture does not do her justice.

Astonished that no history of Merchant Taylors' School existed, the present headmaster, Mr. H. M. Luft, has repaired the omission. The result is a diligent and engrossing record. Mr. Luft can assess the people as well as the papers and he leavens the administrative detail with many sketches of the men who have had a part in his great school. The part was not always what you would expect. Those, for instance, who suppose that headmasters are always sober men of good repute should read his account of one nineteenth-century scallywag. *A History of Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby, 1620-1970* (338pp.) is published by Liverpool University Press at £3.

CR Bulletin

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TIMES PAST THE TIMES

T·L·S

69th Year 7 AUGUST 1970 No. 3,571

Commentary

It is a relief to know that the *sexes* of *Oh! Calcutta!* are not to be *cachés* behind a law-suit, if only because any reprise of the conflicting rhetorics aired when Lady Chatterley was brought to court would have been unendurable. If they are still bent on sabotaging Kenneth Tynan's naturist pageant, its enemies will need slyer tactics. They might ask themselves, for a start, why he launched his crusading nudes on London at the height of summer. Could it be that the central heating apparatus in his ex-engine-shed is not all it might be? And if so, a bit of timely interference when the cold weather returns might see the detumescent cast quickly back into costume drama.

Short of some such inspired intervention, *Oh! Calcutta!* should run for ever, and it has become an instant institution if the test of this is the provision of tickets for sale in the Personal column of *The Times*. By next summer a couple of stalls for *Oh! Calcutta!* should have considerable exchange value; six similar at Glyndebourne, one would guess, and the whole front row at the Trooping of the Colour.

But if we have been spared the agonies and ethical contortions of a trial, we have still had to stomach, in the past week or so, some fairly upsetting prose from impressionable drama critics who, settled free of charge in seats a good deal nearer the action than the rest of us could aspire to, seem to have been overcome by the physical glory of it all; in some cases, perhaps, more out of desperation at their own crumpled contours than from disinterested moral conviction.

Their missionary stance generally seems to be anchored in the belief that, far from depraving us (or making us more depraved than we are already), exposure to vicarious sexual play actually makes better men and women of us all. And the next stage in this particular argument is to introduce concordant statistics of sex crimes from permissive Denmark. The claim is that since the ban on pornography was lifted there last year, sexual criminality has declined. This is not quite the case: there have been fewer minor sex crimes, such as indecent exposure, but just as many more serious ones, such as rape. Moreover, the climate having changed in respect of pornography it is possible that exposure is no longer always thought of by its targets or by policemen as being criminally indecent.

If it were true, in any case, that men who previously found satisfaction in exposing themselves subsequently found an equal satisfaction in buying pornography, and if spectacles such as *Oh! Calcutta!* really are therapeutic, then there are implications about the sort of audiences who should attend them. Far from being bandied about among the serene people who read the Personal column of *The Times*, tickets for the Round House should be made easily and cheaply available for those unfortunates most in need of such a social service.

* * *

From time to time the Publishers' Association has been an object of suspicion, not only to authors and to booksellers—both of whose professional organizations preceded that of the publishers—but also to publishers themselves. If it has taken a firm line, it was likely to be accused of dictatorial pressures; if, as so often, giving no lead—literary censorship is one example—then it would be proclaimed ineffective. Mr. R. J. L. Kingsford has now written a partial history: *The Publishers' Association, 1896-1946* (228pp. Cambridge University Press, £3) and those who take the trouble to follow him through the undergrowth of trade politics, as well as national and international politics as they have affected books, will realize that the Publishers' Association, founded and to a great extent continuing as a defensive organization like other trade associations, has seldom been more than the sum of its often divergent, nearly always highly articulate, parts.

Indeed, as the discreetly inserted names of publishers prominent in the Association's councils show, many of the more celebrated publisher individualists, including Algernon Methuen, John Lane, Walter Hutchinson, Victor Gollancz and Allen Lane, have played little part in the collective leadership of the British publishing world, although others, such as Sir Frederick Macmillan and Sir Stanley Unwin, both heads of highly individualist houses, did much to forward not only the narrow interests of publishing, but that of books and the written word in English. Not, of course, that the popularly known publishers have always made the greatest contribution to a trade whose policies and practice have sometimes had repercussions far outside their own commerce. If the P.A. had lost their fight in 1940 against purchase tax on books, and in 1962 for price maintenance on net books (will their next campaign be against Value Added Tax?), the failures might have had wide repercussions. Oddly enough, if intermittently suspect in some quarters, the Publishers' Association's success in these matters, where other, more powerful lobbies failed, has made it the envy of other trade associations.

Accordingly, it was an excellent idea to engage a former President of the Association to compile a record of its first fifty years, although it is a pity that the account could not have been brought forward a good deal nearer the present; even updating sentences and a short appendix on the Net Book Agreement case are insufficient for a body now almost a quarter of a century older. So discreet and succinct an author as Mr. Kingsford, who allows nothing to the cult of individuality in a trade swarming with individualists, could have been trusted to deal with the first twenty years of the postwar publishing world.

However, in an area of publishing notably deficient outside the histories of publishing houses generally commissioned to celebrate anniversaries, his book is welcome. His slim, appropriately unobtrusive volume contains a mass of information, briefly and impersonally recorded, although occasionally the author allows himself an opinion or a comment. For example, when referring to the wartime scarcity of British books in Commonwealth countries, he says

> some American publishers also saw an idealistic mission in helping these countries to rid themselves of the remnants of the oppressive British colonial system . . . of the countries which were temporarily starved of books in the English language India was perhaps the one to which America felt the greatest idealistic call.

The P.A., then, was formed as a defensive organization. Its foundation in 1896 followed the system of net books substantially initiated by Frederick Macmillan in 1890 with Marshall's *Principles of Economics*: and apart from the necessary reactions to the First World War, it remained a largely defensive, conservative organization until the problems of the world slump and the 1930s called for a more positive attitude. Then an energetic secretary was enlisted, and representatives of the "new" firms including Stanley Unwin, Geoffrey Faber and G. Wren Howard of Jonathan Cape—moved into the chief seats of the association. They initiated closer relations with the booksellers, most of whom had hitherto been regarded as little more than tradesmen with the duty of selling at inadequate discounts the books graciously supplied by the publishers. Not that either side of the trade showed great foresight in the inter-war period: whether it was a matter of book clubs, paperbacks, the early reactions to the brilliant (publisher's) idea of book tokens, or the lost golden opportunity to control the trade paper as was done so successfully in Germany.

Although Mr. Kingsford deals faithfully with the early history, including the extraordinary incident known as "the Book Trade War", initiated by *The Times*, circulation-hungry in 1906, half his account is taken up with the last third of his allotted period. It was the incidence of the Second World War and the need for the British publishing industry to present a united front to a Government which, initially at any rate, found little reason to distinguish between books and boots, that obliged publishers to supply facts and figures about their businesses. As a result of its wartime initiatives, the P.A. became the informed fountainhead of information and policy, not only in negotiating with Government departments, but in dealing with the complex problems of a post-war world in which the expanding demand for books in English was not to be satisfied only by publishers in Britain.

Mr. Kingsford's book is very much a record for members of the book trade and its future historians. From the time when he became personally involved, the bare bones of fact acquire a little flesh: but on the whole it is an impersonal account, with the names of the participants often given, like the members of an athletic team, in footnotes. In a way, these "teams", and their active supporters in many committees and missions, might be paid rather more explicit tributes than the author's near-official account allows, f[...] Britain or elsewhere[...] record of generally [...] service far exceeding [...] mercial concern for [...] tion of their product[...]

* *

Mr. Prasad of the [...] University, the hero [...] Commentary, launched [...] book thieves, it w[...] with the report that [...] West had invented a [...] anteed to unmask the[...] to the library. At [...] sounded like a vain[...] by a very harassed li[...] that his own home [...] could never check the [...] wave. But if Mr. Pra[...] on hope or rumour [...] dered his threat he [...] forward to the day [...] substantiated: for [...] indeed come up with [...] thwart book burglars [...] fordshire.

Last week it was [...] all the 50,000 or so [...] new library of the [...] technic will be [...] "bugged".

A magnetised strip is [...] each book and unle[...] correctly checked [...] counter, the metal strip [...] by a remote control, s[...] sound and a gate will [...] the unwary reader.

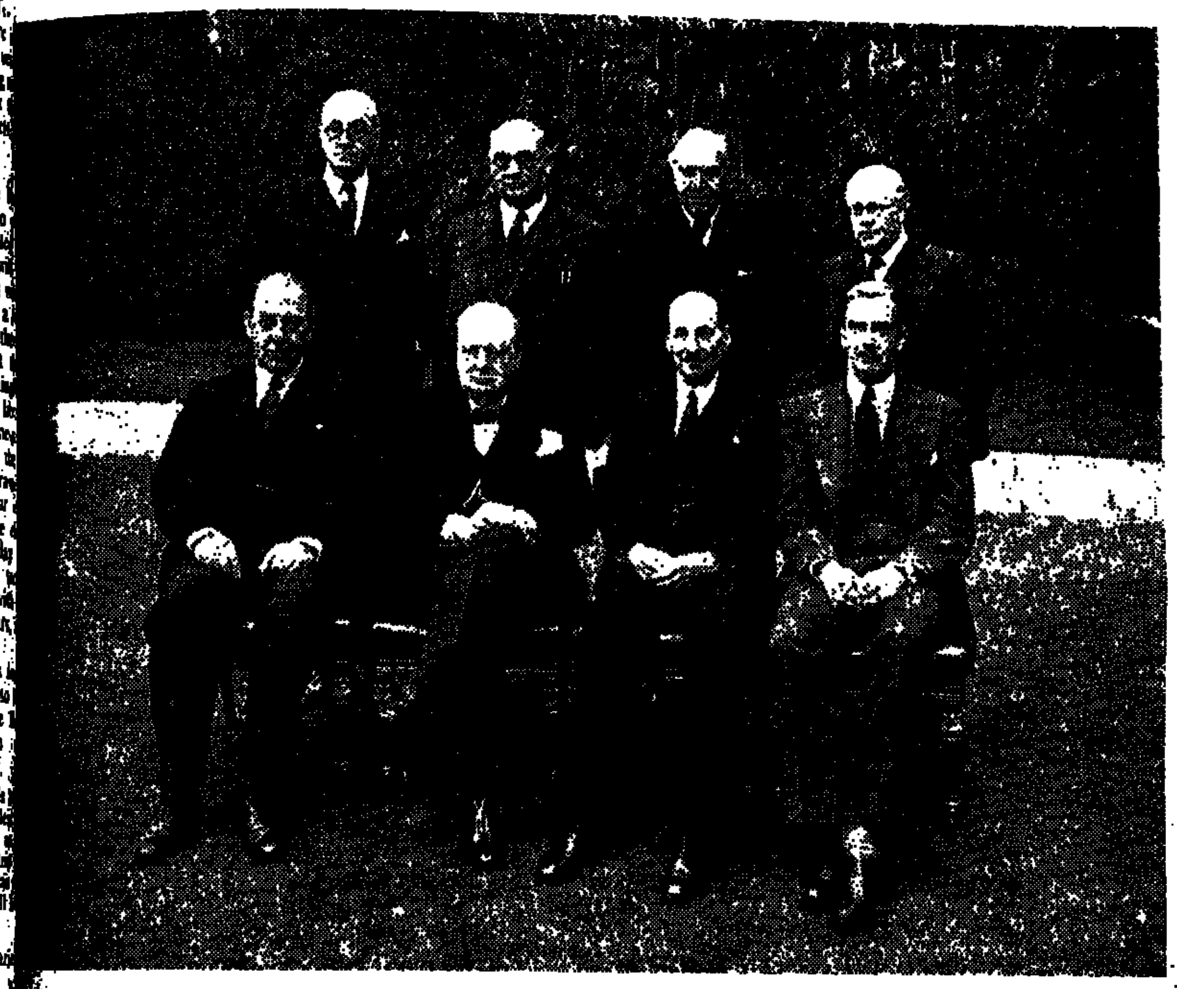
A forbidding scenario, one which might [...] anachronistic simpleton[...] and elsewhere who ha[...] pated such superhu[...] for their modest c[...] polytechnicians ought [...] and they may ultima[...] see their library's ne[...] stimulus rather than [...] their activities. Inste[...] submissively before the [...] gate, their loot lik[...] ously from beneath the[...] they may decide to g[...] bugged volumes the[...] off the metal strip [...] earth is anything [...] going to be *hidden* [...] at least jamming their [...]

Can we, then, look [...] close and ingenious [...] Hatfield's librarian [...] cutors? The authorities [...] technic have begun [...] cause their new library [...] in its modernity, [...] proofed rooms where [...] use tape-recorders [...] study tables fitted with [...] and projection screens [...] films, closed-circuit [...] teaching machines. And [...] in the secreter disc[...] the sleekest plaything[...] shelving controlled b[...] button; correctly [...] causes the shelves of [...] reading-matter to m[...] apart, to reveal the [...] within. Such unwonted [...] the library's decor may [...] with, prove a tempt[...] its own sake. In wh[...] librarians might have [...] relegating the most [...] to the least accessible [...]

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ROUTLEDGE & KEGAN PAUL



[Th]e War Cabinet of 1941.

Churchill and the diplomats

[L]LEWELLYN WOODWARD: **[Br]itish Foreign Policy in the Second [W]orld War**
[V]olume I.
[...]pp. Her Majesty's Stationery [Off]ice. £3 12s. 6d.

[T]HERE WAS ALWAYS something [s]lightly absurd about presenting Sir Llewellyn Woodward's [ma]gnificent five-act drama as a one-[act p]laylet. Why it was thought necessary to publish only an abbreviated [editi]on in 1962 is still obscure. The [wh]ole work already existed at that [time], but it was reserved "for official [use]". Presumably it would still be [b]ut for the relaxation of the time-[limit up]on access to official documents, [whic]h has already begun to make it [poin]tless to treat some of Sir Llewel[lyn] Woodward's material as secret. [Wh]atever the reason, there should be [noth]ing but gratitude for the release [of th]is complete text. It is as masterly [as t]he synopsis suggested it would be, [wi]th the additional benefit of elbow[roo]m for the author to dilate and [emp]loy the historian's art. With the [[...]] of the abridged version, it is [on]ly possible to appreciate the [ma]gnitude of the author's achievement, although we have only the first [of th]e five volumes in which the work [will] be completed.

[It] is certainly the best of the [off]icial histories of the Second [Wor]ld War. (The qualifying epithet ["of]ficial" is necessary, because the [best], without qualification is still [Chu]rchill's own, as Sir Llewellyn [Wo]odward generously acknowledges.) In scope it is surpassed by [the v]olumes on *The Grand Strategy*, [but t]hese show the marks of having [been] written by several hands, and [they] often dive distractingly into [deta]ils which hardly warrant the [nam]e of strategy. The story of [Briti]sh foreign policy, on the other [hand], benefits both from undivided [auth]orship and from the author's [b]alanced comprehension of his [subject]. He never loses sight of the [wood] for the trees; and it would be [diffi]cult to identify a single tree that [is mi]ssing or misplaced. His method [migh]t be described as a compromise [betw]een the annalistic and the ana[lytic]al: the one dealing chapter by [chap]ter with every event that happened simultaneously in any theatre of war, the other treating each connected theme separately without reference to what was happening elsewhere. The compromise is that each chapter has a single theme—operations in Scandinavia, Anglo-American relations, the war in the West, the Balkans, the Middle East, and so on—and each theme is pursued chronologically from beginning to end; but inevitably the chapters overlap, and the lateral connexions between them are clearly brought out. Even at the risk of some minor repetition, the method is completely successful.

Through the overwhelming mass of detail an organized pattern of development gradually emerges. The first scene of the first act is a tragi-comedy of fumbling incompetence, played by men who seemed to sense that their only role was to quit the stage as soon as possible, but could not bring themselves to do it. They entered into fantastic commitments—to Poland, to Greece, to Rumania, to Finland—which they had no resources to carry out; and even when they undertook a practicable commitment, as those of Belgium and Holland, they could find no means of persuading those whose security they guaranteed to react in the only way that would make the guarantees effective. The British and French governments were equally at sea and at loggerheads. The scene was one which the Nazi leaders could only watch with triumphant scorn and laughter. The British Foreign Office, whose story this is, could play little more than the role of a chorus in a Greek tragedy, commenting with melancholy common sense on events that lay outside their experience and control. This first act of the great drama would have been simply a matter for horror and despair—indeed, it would have been the only act—if there were not the satisfaction of knowing that the hero was already there, waiting in the wings.

The hero first enters the stage in typically aggressive manner in the second chapter. The Germans were obtaining supplies of Swedish iron-ore through the Norwegian port of Narvik, both Scandinavian countries then being neutral. "The first proposal for direct action to stop the traffic from Narvik had come from Mr. Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty." Of course, where else would it come from? But the Foreign Office was uneasy about naval action to interrupt the supply unless it could be contrived to take place outside the territorial waters of Norway. Here is the first emergence of two familiar themes that recur again and again throughout Sir Llewellyn Woodward's work: the tussle between Churchill and the Foreign Office, and the conflict between the rule of law and the necessities of war. It would be wrong to suggest that these are simply two aspects of a single theme—in other words, that the Foreign Office invariably stood for the rule of law against Churchill's single-minded insistence on the primacy of war needs. On the contrary, no national leader in the democratic world, not even Roosevelt, was more punctilious in his adherence to the rule of law and to constitutional government than Churchill, even in Britain's darkest hours. But the Foreign Office was bound to look to the long-term consequences of belligerent acts and to remind its Ministers of the significance of the precedents which they might be setting. Churchill in turn always recognized the force of reasoned argument.

His duels with the Foreign Office, like those with the Chiefs of Staff and in contrast to those with rival politicians, were always imbued with a creative tension. Sir Llewellyn Woodward's preface illustrates it with many examples drawn from the whole history of the Second World War, but the most fully documented are those falling within the scope of Volume I: that is, from the outbreak of war in September, 1939, to the German attack on the Soviet Union in June, 1941. During this period Churchill felt himself constantly thwarted by political rivals like Chamberlain, Halifax, senior officials like Cadogan and Sargent. But he had much more respect for the latter than the former. The politicians, like himself, operated by instinct, and he knew that nine times out of ten their instincts were misguided. Moreover, they could be displaced and replaced by men in whom he had confidence, as indeed gradually they all were. The officials, on the other hand, were men of reason rather than instinct: they represented a strongly based and deeply rooted tradition: and they were permanent in the sense that, even if they were replaced, it could only be by others more or less like themselves. The history of British foreign policy in the Second World War is therefore the story of a magnificent duel between a statesman of genius and one of the greatest of Britain's permanent institutions. The relationship between Churchill and the other political figures is secondary.

Though secondary, however, it was often exasperating and sometimes nearly fatal. Chamberlain all but lost the war in 1939-40. "If his colleagues (and, in particular, Mr. Chamberlain) had been weaker men, Mr. Churchill might have dominated the War Cabinet and given to the Chiefs of Staff the leadership which was needed throughout these months." As Sir Llewellyn Woodward argues with characteristically temperate judgment, it would have been better "if Mr. Chamberlain had given either more or less weight to Mr. Churchill's advice". Unfortunately Chamberlain and his colleagues were stubbornly convinced that their judgment of world affairs was superior to Churchill's. Surprising as it seems in retrospect, the public generally shared their delusion. Public opinion was conscious of all the many subjects on which Churchill had been wrong in the previous twenty years, and did not want to contemplate seriously the one matter on which he had been right. Very many right-thinking people would have preferred Halifax to Churchill as Prime Minister when Chamberlain resigned. If they had had their way, as Sir Llewellyn Woodward's study of the events of June, 1940 makes clear—though he does not expressly say so—a government led by Halifax would probably have accepted peace terms from Hitler and the Battle of Britain would never have been fought. Such were the political rivals with whom Churchill had to contend for the control of British foreign policy.

His contest with Cripps was in some ways more serious, because Cripps was clever as well as obstinate; but it was also less dangerous in the period covered by Volume I because it was conducted at long distance. While Cripps was Ambassador in Moscow his capacity for nuisance was less than after he returned to England and entered the War Cabinet. But the period covered by Sir Llewellyn Woodward's first volume is particularly interesting for the study of foreign policy because of the triangular relationship between the Prime Minister, the eccentric politician turned diplomatist, and the permanent staff of the Foreign Office. Relations with the Soviet Union were second in importance only to relations with the United States, in 1940-41, but for many reasons they were enormously more difficult. There was the legacy of mistrust going back to 1920, in which Churchill was personally involved; there was the ambivalence of both countries' relationships with Nazi Germany; there was the lack of any tradition of normal diplomacy on the Russian side; and all these handicaps were compounded by the conceit and perversity of Cripps. By contrast, dealing with the civilized and friendly government of Roosevelt through Lord Halifax (who moved from the Foreign Office to Washington in January, 1941) was a more pleasurable challenge. Halifax may have been feeble and defeatist as Foreign Secretary, but as Ambassador he could at least be relied on to do and say what he was told. With Cripps it was the reverse in every respect.

The contrast between Anglo-Soviet and Anglo-American relations in 1940-41 shows both Churchill and the Foreign Office at their best. Both areas of diplomatic activity presented grave problems, but they were of a different order. In Anglo-American relations the problems turned on realities and princi-

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ples. In Anglo-Soviet relations they turned on suspicions and personalities. Halifax was well suited to his role in Washington, as he would have been equally in Moscow, since Russian communist bosses dearly loved a lord no less than American Republicans. But Cripps was doomed to failure from the start. He arrived in Moscow under the misapprehension that he would be welcome as the protagonist of a "united front" of the left wing in Britain. This was only the first of his many ineptitudes. A bourgeois intellectual who was also a social democrat had no hope of achieving a meeting of minds with Stalin or Molotov; and it only made matters worse that he never understood why. Sir Llewellyn Woodward's chapters on Anglo-Soviet relations during Cripps's mission make painful reading, from which Churchill alone emerges with ample credit and Cripps with none. Officials at the Foreign Office had no opportunity to brief Cripps, who was already on his way to Russia when he was appointed Ambassador; and the statement that they "could not understand his attitude" was true far more often than it was made. It would be uncharitable, however, to blame him too severely. Nothing but Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union could in any case have altered Stalin's attitude towards Britain. The circumstances of Anglo-Soviet relations were beyond the reach of conventional diplomacy, even had Cripps been a conventional diplomatist.

The clever futilities of Cripps only aggravated the morose suspicions of Stalin, the implacable hostility of Molotov, and the inexorable force of circumstances. Amid this slough of despond, the strong, patient, courageous will of Churchill shone out like a beacon, all the more brilliantly because these were the blackest days of Britain's history. It is an exhilarating experience to witness their reconstruction by Sir Llewellyn Woodward's impeccable scholarship. Churchill's own judgment cannot be faulted at any point, particularly his conviction, against the concurring advice of the Foreign Office and the Chiefs of Staff, that the Soviet Union would successfully resist the German invasion when it came. With that exception, the Foreign Office, too, on the whole comes out of the story well. Unlike the men who appeased Hitler at Munich, senior officials of the Foreign Office were notably unsusceptible to ideology. An impressive memorandum by Sir Orme Sargent in July, 1940, exactly calculated the balance of forces between Hitler and Stalin, and correctly forecast the significance of it for Britain's prospects without a hint that rival political philosophies played any part in the calculation. Nor did they: only doctrinaire intellectuals like Cripps were so foolish as to suppose that they did.

If power politics and *raison d'état* were the only motives animating Hitler and Stalin, they must have watched with astounded incomprehension the evolution of Anglo-American relations during the same period. There could be no doubt that the American leaders wanted to do everything in their power to save the western powers from imminent destruction—if not France, then at least Britain. Why then could they do so little to help? To totalitarian dictators the only conceivable explanation was weakness of will or capacity. The real reasons, which lay in respect for legal and constitutional forms and for public and parliamentary opinion, fell outside their comprehension. The prolonged and meticulous debate which culminated in the exchange of American destroyers for the lease of British bases is told in absorbing detail, all the more impressive and tantalizing because it was conducted against the background of the fall of France and the threat of invasion of the British Isles. Hardly less striking on a minor scale is the story of the attempt to overcome or circumvent Irish neutrality. The "finest hour" was all the finer because Churchill never deviated by a millimetre in the days of supreme crisis from constitutional government at home and the rule of law in international relations. The story loses nothing in the telling. Sir Llewellyn Woodward is proud of his subject and his hero, and he serves them well.

Except by implication, he seldom passes judgment or even comments on the record. Only minor characters like Wilhelm Hohenzollern earn his explicit disapproval: "The ex-Emperor greeted the arrival of German troops with pious enthusiasm, and also with a total lack of concern for his Dutch hosts whose territory was being invaded." The follies of major figures like Chamberlain or Pétain are left to speak for themselves. Sometimes this is a pity. In a study of foreign policy, the practice of Chamberlain in relying on unqualified amateurs like Sir Horace Wilson and his own sister-in-law, or interfering businessmen like Dahlerus and Thyssen, deserves more forthright censure. Churchill did not always see eye to eye with his officials, but he recognized the significance and reliability of their professional approach. For that he deserves more credit than Sir Llewellyn Woodward, expressly, gives him. But it is clearly the author's intention to allow his hero's achievements to emerge from the mass of circumstantial detail uncontaminated by praise or blame. Otherwise he might have allowed himself some criticism here and there—for instance, of the pressures put on Egypt, Greece and Iran, and other small powers whose interests Churchill found it necessary to subordinate to the requirements of Allied strategy. An account of the Greek campaign of 1941 from the Greek point of view, for instance, would read very different[ly] ... Sir Llewellyn Woodward's ... drawn solely from documen[ts] ... British archives.

It was a deliberate decisi[on] ... ever, to limit the material on ... this history is based in ... instance to British sources, ... of course communications ... allied and neutral governme[nts] ... the files of the Foreign Offic[e] ... in revising the text for pub[lication] ... nearly ten years later did Sir [Ll]ellyn Woodward take into ... German and other material ... since become available; ... only to the extent of includin[g] ... footnotes. In the event this ... greatly matter. British foreign ... was what it was, and the ... record of it is only to be f[ound] ... the Foreign Office. Foreign ... tions to it and commentaries ... are historically important, of ... but they are not an intrinsic ... British foreign policy in the ... Llewellyn Woodward was ... right to eschew what ... "after-knowledge" and to ... his work to what was know[n] ... said and done at the time ... result is an impressive ... which convincingly presag[es] ... four more to come. It is also ... whole a powerful vindicat[ion] ... British foreign policy in ... perilous and decisive years. ... is no doubt who was the ... architect, it is satisfactory to ... that the Foreign Office itself ... a worthy subordinate.

To the Editor

Children's Writers

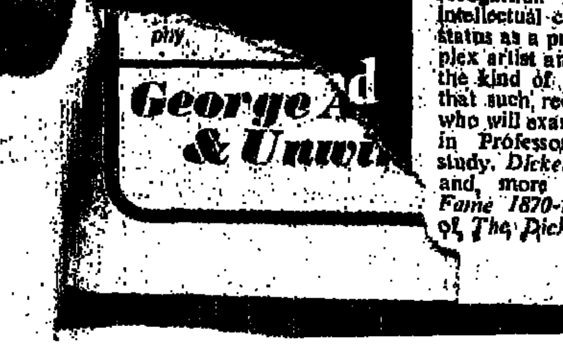
Sir,—Of course we understand the impatience that lay behind your recent editorial statement (July 16), in a discussion of the Danish variant of Public Lending Right, that "it is silly that children's writers, whose books are much shorter and less intellectually taxing to create than many other sorts of book, should receive . . . an exaggerated proportion of the money available". But we question whether your impatience is very useful, when one looks at the logic of the case; and we certainly wonder whether it was expressed tactfully or—more important—sensibly.

Who is to measure the tax on the intellect imposed by the writing of a children's book, as compared with that imposed by the writing of other books? The suggestion that writing for children always requires a smaller mental effort than other kinds is surely most careless. We don't wish to make pompous claims for children's books; but what worries us about the sweeping nature of your statement is that it is part and parcel of a very common tendency to disparage this field of literature—into which, especially today, at its best, a great deal of effort and talent enters. And the trouble with these hasty and mildly scornful attitudes to children's books is that they make it more difficult for us all to recognize a surely essential truth: that no good comes from thinking of literature as divided into a negligible junior field, and a senior field that is alone worth considering seriously. Surely literature is a continuous matter, from childhood onward? With children's books, readers are created for all books whatever. A nursery is not an unimportant part of the house.

As to logic, how can any form of Public Lending Right be based on distinctions as to the intellectually taxing nature of books, or on differences between other qualities they may have? Who on earth could decide such things? If they could be decided, what immense bands of critical inspectors would be required to make the decisions! If, on the basis of this judgment of yours, you would reward children's writers on a lower scale, as a general thing, would you be happy about a situation that would then offer the very best children's writers smaller awards than the most unimportant of writers for adults? Surely any form of Public Lending Right must, on the whole, rest on the simple proposition that a book is a book. Even matters of wordage don't help us: is a masterly short novel to be rewarded less than some inept work distinguished only by its length? Any system is bound to be exasperating at some point in its operation. But exasperations of this sort are the price we would have to pay for the general justice of such a scheme.

LEON GARFIELD.

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Dickensian Criticism

Sir,—Mr. Churchill's interesting letter (July 23) is, I feel, somewhat misleading both in general, and in some particulars. For example, it seems odd to call Saintsbury's summing up of Dickens's achievement as a "phantasmagoria" a "worthy tribute" whereas to Forster, his remarks about "conjuring tricks" and "flat" characters almost certainly did more lasting harm to Dickens's artistic reputation than any criticism published since Lewes's.

Moreover, to bring in the question of the appreciation of Dickens's "moral or social message" is surely a red herring. The notorious sentence of Dr. Leavis's quoted by Lord Snow in the *TLS* (July 9) runs: "But the genius [Dickens's] was that of a great entertainer and he had for the most part no profounder responsibility as a creative artist than this description suggests." It is his status *as an artist* that is at issue. The strong didactic and satirical elements in his work have, of course, always been recognized by every reader—how could they not be?—and their only relevance here is that their huge and lasting popular appeal probably helped to obscure from the literary world the true quality of Dickens's artistic achievement.

On the general point about his reputation, I believe that the period 1939-62 *can* fairly be said to have seen the rehabilitation, or even habilitation, of Dickens, if by that we mean the general recognition in literary, academic and intellectual circles of his Shakespearian status as a profoundly serious and complex artist and the according to him of the kind of detailed critical discussion that such recognition implies. Anyone who will examine the evidence presented in Professor George Ford's classic study, *Dickens and his Readers* (1955), and, more recently, in *Dickens and Fame 1870-1970* (the Centenary issue of *The Dickensian*), must, surely agree that, while Dickens unquestionably remained a *popular* author during the seventy years after his death, highbrow opinion was predominantly unfavourable to him. "It was not until around 1960", Professor Philip Collins observes in *Dickens and Fame*, "that an admiration for Dickens altogether ceased to have a trait of endearing eccentricity in literary and academic circles."

There was indeed a series of excellent critics, from Alice Meynell and Gissing onwards, who wrote in praise of Dickens but it was they, rather than his attackers, who felt themselves to be in a minority in the literary world. In his *Dickens 1970* essay, to which Mr. Churchill refers, Lord Snow points out that Quiller-Couch, for example, was upbraided in the newspapers for treating Dickens in 1925 as "a genius of the first class". And Chesterton's wonderful appreciations of Dickens, especially, were in a sense a prolonged and boisterous campaign against the hard hearts, narrow minds and superfine palates that would not respond to the glories of Pickwick or Micawber. (Incidentally, I wonder where T. S. Eliot found Chesterton's praise of *Bleak House* as Dickens's best novel; "Dickens's work", according to G.K.C., "is to be reckoned always by characters, sometimes by groups, oftener by episodes but never by novels".)

It is relevant, I think, to note that before 1939 Dickens's eulogists did not generally pay much close attention to his actual literary art, Meynell and Gissing being two notable exceptions; Shaw was primarily concerned with Dickens as a devastating critic of Victorian society; Chesterton and J. B. Priestley, and such "Bloomsbury" admirers as Osbert Sitwell or Lord David Cecil were mainly concerned to celebrate his wonderful characters, rich "atmosphere", and powerful humanitarianism. It was not until later that critics of the calibre of J. Hillis Miller, Robert Garis and the contributors to *Dickens and the Twentieth Century* got down to the sort of detailed, subtle analysis of Dickens's prose style, imagery, symbolism and structural and narrative techniques that were already central to critical discussion of Shakespeare and other great writers. Surely this is what Lord Snow meant by "habilitation" and surely he is right.

MICHAEL SLATER.

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'Local Anaesthetic'

Sir,—In the *TLS* for July 23 a reviewer had kind words for my translation of Günter Grass's *Local Anaesthetic*, but remarked that my "brand of English isn't quite" yours. "Not quite" is generous, especially when it comes to the spoken language, though I have long wondered why the American reader or playgoer scarcely notices your face flannels, blocks of flats and ironmongers in a work *written* by an Englishman, or, I believe, an Englishman our wash cloths, apartment houses and hardware stores in an American author, whereas we both stick at such alien folklore in a translation.

The reviewer's example of my American idiom—"screw" in the meaning of "teacher"—is of particular interest. The fact is that the word is archaic American slang, probably regional, and in any case as unfamiliar to most American as to most British readers. I needed a slang word for "teacher"; as far as I know we have no current one except "teach", which seems inseparable from asphalt jungles. I've used the word in two or more of Grass's books, hoping that it would gradually legitimize itself. Worse words have crept into the language through translation e.g., the absolute "hopefully" that has ravaged America and seems to be threatening England, and "meaningful".

In the present case I don't know whether the joke is on the reviewer or on me, but I will say that the combination in which he cites my questionable word—"I bet you'll be a first-class screw"—is singularly unfortunate and that if I had it to do over again I wouldn't.

RALPH MANHEIM.

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Classical Rhetoric

Sir,—In your issue of July 23 you published a review of my book *Classical Rhetoric in English Poetry* which attempted a total demolition of it. I deplore the tone adopted by your reviewer, and I shall not emulate it; but I would like to correct the impression given of the book's actual contents, and to defend myself from some of his more serious charges. The publisher (Macmillan) wanted a general and fairly short (60-80,000-word) book on rhetoric in English poetry (Chaucer to Pope), which would provide (i) a brief history of the subject, (ii) an outline of its teachings, (iii) an evaluation of the state of modern scholarship, and (iv) a more personal statement of possible and desirable future developments. This is what I set out to do and what I hope I achieved. Your reviewer concedes that it is a book about classical rhetoric in English poetry and then admits that "it would be invidious to criticize it for not being what it does not set out to be"; then he proceeds to do just that, at great length and in the most hostile way. I shall single out nine points on which I feel that I have been unjustly criticized.

(1) Your reviewer suggests that I am ignorant of relevant work in this field: "Mr. Vickers seems peculiarly unaware of what has been and is being done, in much more modern terms, by the structural linguists and semiologists of America, England and France especially." Here he displays one of the crudest academic prejudices: "what a man doesn't mention he doesn't know". As it happens, I am extremely interested in these developments, especially the work of semiologists like Genette and Todorov. But my brief was to discuss the extant interpretations of classical rhetoric as applied to English poetry, within a pretty tight word-limit: it was not a book about the relations between rhetoric, stylistics and linguistics, although I hope to do some work in this field later. Silence does not ... norance.

(2) I am supposed to be ig... modern literary criticism as ... in his haste to make this p... reviewer misrepresents the ... tents of the book. "Nor does ... tion the New Aristotelians of ... except for Wayne C. Booth; ... could he have missed the ... made (pages 37, 81) from the ... Italian Renaissance criticism ... nard Weinberg, one of that ... group represented in R. S. ... *Critics and Criticism*? I am ... not to have mentioned Eric Au[erbach] ... but I write on page 154 that ... three of his always stimulating ... Eric Auerbach partly used ... criticism to make a suggestive ... of later phases of the develop[ment of] Latin prose-style", and I refer ... bach's subsequent book on ...

(3) Your reviewer's violent ... on some of the examples which ... fail to distinguish between a ... ment and a minor argument or ... tive examples. Thus when I ... the use of antithesis is fundam[ental] ... Gorgias's thought and add ... same has been said of Brecht ... instance, by Peter Demetz), ... viewer pejoratively describes ... "a mind-wrenching reference ... Brecht" (some mind!) and go[es on to] ask "why not Hawthorne, ... Johnson?" By all means: ... was merely a parallel no uniq[ueness] ... was claimed by it, and many ... names would do. I refer to ... again later, as one of a brief ... examples of the persistence ... rhetorical figure chiasmus into ... literature: for having done so ... reviewer accuses me of "drag[ging in] ... vogue modern names who ... belong to his specific field". ... examples consisted of actual qu[otations] ... of the use of this figure by Pope, ... taigne, Balzac, Conrad, Stern[e] ... President Kennedy ("dragging in ... modern names?") and was not ... your review, an exercise in ... dropping. Your reviewer then ... dicts himself by attacking ... having quoted still further ... examples.

(4) I am supposed to have ... the whole book for no solid ... "Mr. Vickers displays quite a ... of his own in defending his ... against a non-existent scorn, ... ence and inadequacy of trea[tment] ... This comment reveals a ... ignorance of the hostility toward ... toric which persists in modern ... could fill a whole issue of your ... with quotations of ninetee[nth and] twentieth-century writers who ... professed scorn for the subject ... your reviewer *really* be so ... read?). R. P. McKeon wrote ... that modern histories of medieval ... toric are "usually negative or ... deprecatory"—the attitude ... recently begun to change and ... in some areas.

(5) An even more serious ... name is that I am accused of ... derivative and unoriginal: "the ... two chapters . . . both lean ... others", and many of my ... are "cited . . . from a ... source". Again he starts by ... tioning to your readers a ... made by me: in the preface I ...

...der to write the two first chapters (a ...y, and an Outline) I have evi... "had to rely on the major autho... and thus [these chapters] contain ...ch that is original", although I ... that the organization and syn... of this material is original, and I ... of no other history of rhetoric in ... which covers so much ground. ...rse I am indebted to such great ...s that by E. R. Curtius, H. I. ..., R. R. Bolgar, E. Faral, T. W. ... and others (who isn't?), and ...out the book I am scrupulous in ...ledging such debts by giving the ...t page-references. Again, when ... that chapter three is more ori... your reviewer dismisses this as a ...what empty . . . claim" and later ... On the rare occasions when he ...es a view of his own he tends to ... by mere statement of opinion."

...is a total misrepresentation of ... book and of my methods. Chap... three deals with the rhetorical ..., and my purpose was to rein... them as serious literary devices. ... by showing that even the most ... modern students of rhetoric ... dismissed the figures as dry and ...ical formulas, and I quote such ...als by D. L. Clark, George Ken... M. L. Clarke, W. S. Howell, Har... ...aig, Madeleine Doran, and ... Mahood (in itself remarkable ... of animus towards rhetoric). ... show in detail that Greek, ... and English Renaissance rheto... had in fact argued that the rheto... ...ures originated as records of ...nal and psychological states and ...d the function of recreating ...tes. This is a quite new inter... ...n of the evidence, and it is ... that it should hardly have been ...ved in over 2,000 years of the ...ion of rhetoric.

...ur reviewer says, quite falsely: ... the expert, it has most of it been ...fore." To him my argument is ...ore than history all over again". ... said to be "gratuitously attack... the accepted view. What, pre... ... does he mean by "gratuitously"? ...e it very clear that the "accepted ..." is not supported by the actual evi... and that this revaluation of the ... of rhetorical figures is the core ... book, since from it flows a totally ... concept of how we can use rhetoric ...rary analysis. I hope it will be ...modest to say that at least half ...ok is totally original, whatever its ... or faults, and that my "opinion" ...sented by argument and detailed ...tion. Let any reader see for ...lf.

Your reviewer reveals that he is ... competent judge of rhetoric by ... other errors (this is to set aside ...re carelessnesses—"A. L. ..." instead of "M. L.", ascribing ... K. Stone a book written by ... Howell). His comment that ... has been mocked by many ... greatest rhetorical poets from ... and Shakespeare to Pope" ... up short. Is he referring to ...o disclaim rhetoric (Berowne, ...ony, Chaucer's Franklin) but ...tely go on to use it abun... Of course, to abjure rhetoric ... one of the oldest rhetorical ...t he surely cannot seriously ...t any of those poets mocked ...per se—that would be like ... thought, or language, or air. ...ys his ignorance of the *état* ... rhetoric-scholarship further ... singles out as exceptionable ...ism of the situation in some ... departments of speech (it was ... attack on American universit... ...reby "pure rhetoric" is stud... ...ually complete isolation from ... (or linguistics), a type of ...tion within the humanities ...ms to me ridiculous, especially ...oric was for over 2,000 years ...s basic to both language and ...

...other example of your re... ...srepresentation of the book: ...Vickers then ends with examples ... figures [chapter four] totally ...ted. . . ." This makes the ...terprise seem petty and un... what the reader is not told is ...ook does not end there (some ...s are taken up by chapters ... and the bibliography), that ..." figures are in fact sixteen ...t frequently-used figures, and ...whole section is intended to ... reader to familiarize himself ... figures as they are actually ...major English poets. They ...ommented" he complains, ...itting to mention that I had ...announced that I wanted to ... examples on their own here, ...ader to confront directly; in ...nearly every one of the figures ...ted on elsewhere in the book, ...e at the index will confirm. ...figure I give a brief definition, (where possible) from Latin ...d the Bible, and then quota... ...nged chronologically for each ...om, e.g., Chaucer, Sidney, Shakespeare, Donne, Herbert, Marvell, Pope. No presenta... ...ch scope exists in any other English book on the subject and I think that the reader who wishes to see how the figures work will find it useful. I deliberately limited the number illustrated, and your reviewer's complaint that my book is "not comprehensive enough for the beginner (e.g., only a few figures are dealt with)" reveals his total lack of experience in teaching rhetoric: nothing is more daunting to the beginner than to be presented with a list of several dozen figures and their definitions—better to be more humane, limit the number and establish their relevance to literature.

(8) To strengthen his complaint against the way I present the figures in chapter four, your reviewer continues: "totally uncommented, rather irritatingly giving the Greek in translation only, ludicrous at that: 'I showed myself, then, this one, on that, day, I'. Demosthenes (*trs.* Kennedy 225)." "Fortunately", he adds (gratuitously?), "most examples are from English poets." The book is intended for the student or general reader, and I saw no point in possibly deterring people with the Greek alphabet (apart from, of course, displaying one's own learning). The quotation from Demosthenes was translated by George Kennedy, who is a distinguished American classical scholar: his "ludicrous" version is evidently a literal representation of the linguistic form of the figure *epanalepsis* in Greek.

(9) Finally, your reviewer suggests that I ought to show "a little less *apoplanesis*", which Sister Joseph defines as "a figure of disputation whereby one seeks to evade the issue by digressing to another matter". What exactly does he imply by this?

I object to the fundamental misrepresentation of my book and my competence by these and other, more trivial criticisms. Due to the inevitable time-lag between a review and the appearance of a rejoinder some readers or librarians who look to your journal for a reliable account of the content of a book and, in addition, an informed evaluation of its contribution to the subject may have already taken away such a poor impression of *Classical Rhetoric in English Poetry* that they will have decided not to buy it or not to read it. Some of them may not see this letter or may not even believe an author as against a *TLS* reviewer, and so my book's chances of reaching the wider public for which it was written will have been seriously damaged. I can only hope that this letter may have changed some minds, if not your reviewer's.

BRIAN VICKERS.

231 Chesterton Road, Cambridge.

☞ Our reviewer writes:—I am sorry that Mr. Vickers should read into my review so many accusations I did not make while my main criticism—see (1) and (2)—remains unanswered. I will try to deal with each point despite their repetitive disorder.

General: I have not ignored his statements of intention, *vide* his own quotation: "it would be invidious to criticize it for not being what it does not set out to be", which he does not finish: "if Mr. Vickers did not so lay himself open to such criticism". I then develop this. I also praise his book as a straight account of rhetoric. Had he stuck to his intention my review would have been all praise.

(1) I am not psychic and cannot know what he is aware of if it is not in the book: "*seems* peculiarly unaware of" means what it says.

(2) I have nowhere accused him of ignorance. My point was that since he over-defends his subject against those who attack rhetoric he should at least deal with the many who have developed the subject with more modern techniques, in linguistics, stylistics and the best literary criticism, which he either does not mention at all or barely mentions. I apologize for including Auerbach among the former, but a bare mention of one great forerunner can hardly be called dealing with or showing awareness of the whole vast field since; nor are the two quotations from Weinberg on Italian Renaissance criticism relevant to that field.

(3) In a book on classical rhetoric in English poetry these odd scattered names *are* distracting because so haphazard. My point was: if they are to be thrown in then why not those of our modern rhetoricians, the linguists, who are advancing Mr. Vickers's subject. Last sentence: see (1).

(4) See (2).

(5) Mr. Vickers is reading these accusations into my review. The supercilious tone is illustrated by a quotation. As to his explicit intention, I specifically refer to his own view that only chapter three is original, the first two being historical surveys from different angles and therefore relying heavily on others. This is a descriptive, not a critical statement. Of course he gives scrupulous references but again this should be taken for granted in a scholarly book. So can "organization and synthesis" of such material, though I gladly endorse Mr. Vickers's own praise on this point.

As for his chapter three I can only repeat that in my view it is not as original as he thinks. Ultimately this is a question of opinion, which is why I quoted extensively to let the reader judge.

(6) Mr. Vickers falls into the very fault he blames me for by pouncing on two slips of the eye inexcusable but totally irrelevant to the criticism made to accuse me of incompetence, backing this with my remark on poets' mockery of rhetoric. I specifically said that this mockery implies thorough knowledge and that all poets use rhetoric. This is generally known, as he says, and since it is Mr. Vickers's own nicely paradoxical point, with which I opened my review to interest the reader, I am also "pulled up short" by his indignation.

Rhetoric-scholarship—see (2).

(7) See (5). Also the reader *is* told that the book does end there but with eleven pages of more specific analysis from which I quote this chapter five: chapter four as he says himself consists of the listed figures in question.

(8) Mr. Vickers exonerates me by quoting me as well as by requoting the Kennedy translation of Demosthenes: the literal translation loses the poetic impact of the figure: since he chose the opposite and better technique for the Latin quotations, giving the Latin and translating the sense but often, inevitably, losing the figure, the presentation of the Greek seemed inconsistent.

(9) See "General" above.

Chambers's Law

Sir,—Is there not a simpler explanation (July 31)? Until the nineteenth century most town streets bore a name ending in "Street": hence the emphasis was placed on the distinctive part of the appellation. In the exceptional case of the "Road" or "Lane" the second word was distinctive and therefore the stress was placed there—e.g. on Grosvenor *Square* to distinguish it from Grosvenor Street, Camden *Road* to distinguish it from Camden Street. The difference of stress has persisted even though "Streets" are now rare.

J. M. ROSS.

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The K.P.D.

Sir,—Please allow me to comment on your article on "The Bolshevization of the German Communist Party" (June 25).

The "abortive Spartacus rising" of January, 1919, was not a calculated attempt by the Communists to seize power. It started as a peaceful demonstration aimed at preventing the removal from office of Emil Eichhorn, the police chief, a socialist of long standing who was trusted and very popular with workers of all political shades. The Communists were a small minority in this demonstration and were not strong enough to take power alone. Nor were the Independent Socialists planning a bid for power. The strength of popular support took them both by surprise.

On January 3 the Central Committee received a telegram from Upper Silesia asking for an expert leader to help them proclaim a Soviet Republic. My husband, Eugen Leviné, was asked to go, but to use all his tact and authority to *avert* the proclamation. Obviously the party would not have taken such pains to avert a movement in Upper Silesia if it intended to unleash a fight for power in Berlin.

Nor is there much truth in the widespread belief, sustained by your reviewer, that the "March action" of 1921 was provoked by the Comintern in order to alleviate Russia's difficult situation through movements in the West. I was by then married to Ernst Meyer, the co-founder of the Spartacus League and, after Paul Levi's resignation, the actual leader of the party. We had many heated discussions about the wisdom of the March action, and he never so much as hinted at Comintern pressure or mentioned Béla Kun in this connexion. The truth is that, after reaching the coveted status of mass party by its fusion with the Independent Socialist Party, it felt bound to produce quick results. Paradoxically, the new allies, the Independent Socialist workers, were particularly keen to prove their revolutionary mettle and exercised the greatest pressure.

After the March débâcle, which reduced the party to a shambles, my husband, not the Ultra Left, took over the leadership. In eighteen months he built up a powerful organization by the use of united front tactics. In the autumn of 1923 the party felt fit for the first time to make a deliberate bid for power.

I would also strongly contest the opinion that the party suffered from its Social Democratic heritage. During its whole existence, starting from the Constitutional Congress, its policy was marked by Ultra Left deviations. The exception was the right deviation of October, 1923, under Heinrich Brandler. But this was to a large extent the responsibility of the Russian kingmakers. Your reviewer is wrong in saying that the left-wing leadership of Ruth Fischer and Maslow was "installed with the blessing of the Russians". It was the work of deeply frustrated workers who set so much hope on "their October". They could not forgive Brandler the humiliation of the defenceless retreat. Zinoviev even tried to stem the swing to the Ultra Left, but he was lacking in character and too preoccupied with his own factional struggles to do it properly.

ROSA MEYER-LEVINE.

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Bruce Rogers Exhibition

Sir,—In your correspondent's review (July 9) of the Grolier Club's recent Bruce Rogers anniversary exhibition there is a point made which should be corrected. The exhibition was *not* a collaboration between Mr. Herbert Johnson of Macmillan's and the writer. Mr. Johnson not only conceived the idea for it, but virtually single-handedly arranged for the loans, wrote all the labels, installed it, and subsequently dismantled it and supervised the safe return of the loans to their various homes. Our busy season made such a combination of abilities in one person very welcome indeed.

The phrase mentioned by your correspondent as wanting more discriminating use, "one of BR's favorite books", refers to a list of thirty favorites made in 1943 by BR himself. A label on a 1903 book explained that the phrase would crop up again and again in the exhibition to designate the chosen thirty.

ROBERT NIKIRK.

The Grolier Club, 47 East Sixtieth Street, New York, N.Y. 10022, U.S.A.

Conrad Questions

Sir,—The answer to Leonard Wayman's question (July 16), "Is it possible to be able to read a novel, however laboriously, without being literate enough to write your own name?", is "Yes".

Hundreds of thousands of Jews in the diaspora learn to read and translate the Hebrew of the Pentateuch and prayer book with some degree of fluency, and yet are quite unable to write Hebrew.

BERNARD SUSSER.

2 Wadsley Square, Sunderland.

A panorama of Dickens and his world

The dramatic interplay of historical fact and author's fiction is what distinguishes "The Life and Works of Charles Dickens" from many recent publications on one of Britain's greatest authors. These elements in the new Sunday Times wallchart have already attracted several famous organisations to buy it in bulk for resale. The Victoria and Albert Museum, Madame Tussaud's, Dickens' Portsmouth birthplace and other Dickens' museums have all placed large orders.

As a first educational guide to the Victorian world which shaped almost every line Dickens wrote, this full-colour wallchart is unique. It carries a dozen or more portraits of the famous parade of Dickens' characters: Mr. Pickwick, the Artful Dodger, Sam Weller, etc. It shows Dickens at work in the theatre, as a reformer against the horrors of child labour, as an acid commentator on the American scene. It lists his writings, it details his biography, it documents every aspect of his private and public life.


Mr. Bumble


Mr. Pecksniff The Marchioness

"The Life and Works of Charles Dickens", a 30 inches by 40 inches wallchart in full colour, is an approach to entertaining education not to be missed—in the home or in the school.

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In defence of Radcliffe-Brown

MEYER FORTES:
Kinship and the Social Order
347pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £4.
Time and Social Structure and other essays
287pp. Athlone Press. £2 10s.

If the study of kinship is the peculiar preserve of social anthropology, then it is safe to assume that the progress made in this area will give some indication of the state of the whole discipline. Earlier this year, at the annual conference of the Association of Social Anthropologists, a strong current of dissatisfaction with this progress was revealed, and the feeling was expressed by some of the participants that social anthropologists should put their house in order by spring-cleaning the cherished but exhausted categories with which they habitually approach kinship. These two books from Professor Fortes, one a collection of previously published essays, and the other a new work, are good sources of ammunition for the proponents of this view.

Kinship and the Social Order is an expanded version of the first of the Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures given at Rochester University in 1963. The work is divided into three parts entitled "Retrospect", "Paradigmatic Ethnographical Specimens", and "Some Issues in Structural Theory". The first part is concerned to restore Morgan to his position as the founder of social anthropological thought and to outline the connexions between his thought and investigations and modern structural theory. This would seem a very proper and right act of homage to a respected ancestor, but there are many roads which lead from Morgan and more than one modern structural theory. The path which Professor Fortes chooses leads to the claim that

> there is a distinctive range of problems presented by the facts of kinship and social organization which can be better isolated, probed, and made sense of within the framework of structural analysis, as we have developed it in succession to Radcliffe-Brown, than by any other discipline yet available in social anthropology.

It is to the demonstration of this claim that the greater proportion of this book is given, although in the course of it a large number of topics are covered, more, in fact, than it is possible to mention in a brief review. This book, as may by now have been guessed, is not about Morgan but about Radcliffe-Brown.

The main theme running through *Kinship and the Social Order* is that the principles which Radcliffe-Brown is held to have revealed in the 1930s are still the basic tools which should be used in the analysis of kinship today. The reader's reaction to this book will very much depend on his opinions about the standing of these principles. If he agrees he will join in applauding the author for his discovery of a further principle, the axiom of amity or prescriptive altruism. This principle is taken to account for the feelings of moral obligation which are a necessary adjunct of kinship. The difficulty here is quite simply the same as that which faces the earlier principles of Radcliffe-Brown: to call something by a different name is in no sense an explanation. To note that individuals from discernibly different genealogical levels are classified together and that, accordingly, ego stands in an identical terminological relationship to all such individuals is to say one thing, and to call this the principle of lineage unity is to say the same thing in another way. It seems certain that this sort of tautology mystified its author as much as it did everyone else, but, once exposed for what it is, continued adherence to belief in its value is less understandable.

The axiom of amity is Professor Fortes's shorthand for the sphere of moral values which is an aspect of all kinship systems and which, in all societies, is analytically distinguishable from jural values which are a feature of the politico-jural system. This is the fundamental conclusion of *Kinship and the Social Order* but the question whether making such an analytical distinction in certain types of society is useful is not raised. This problem is particularly acute in the discussion of Australian kinship organization where there is presupposed

> a division of each person's social world into a kinship realm where moral relations (subject, for example, to the incest rule), jural relations (of marriage and affinal duties, for example), and religious relations (of totemic belief and ritual) prevail, and a non-kinship realm where such relations are impossible.

This leads to a difficulty, for having drawn moral boundaries coterminous with the incest barrier it is necessary for Professor Fortes, in order for his argument to work, to declare that "which degrees of kin are enjoined or permitted spouses depends on the incidence and range of the incest prohibition". He thus joins some other famous practitioners in kinship analysis who are unable to distinguish between marriage and sexual intercourse.

Any satisfactory response to this book would require a treatment of equal length and density, for it gives a one-sided view of a whole discipline's growth; this is the author's assessment of his own work. Professor Fortes has explicitly declined to discuss marriage, which he regards as an unessential part of kinship structure, and he admits that he has ignored those works which would make no difference to an "already rounded-off argument". No indication is given what these arguments may be; this is a pity, for in such a partisan book it would be useful to know where the subject's assumed unanimity lies.

Time and Social Structure consists of nine essays published between 1936 and 1961, together with a short piece written especially for this volume. As well as the title article, there are "The Significance of Descent in Tale Social Structure", "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups", "Descent, Filiation and Affinity", "Analysis and Description in Social A[…]ogy", "Ritual Festivals […] Cohesion in the Hinterla[…] Gold Coast", "Pietas in […] Worship", "Social and P[…]cal Aspects of Education […]land", and "Radcliffe[…] Contributions to the Stud[…] Organization". The additi[…] is an appendix to the di[…] the 1950s on descent and […] and a summary of some of […] raised in the other book […] here.

Professor Fortes's de[…] Radcliffe-Brown's posi[…] another connecting link be[…] collected essays and the […] and it is even more obvi[…] former—because, perhaps, […] no interference in the fore[…] sance to Morgan whose […] not appear in the bibliog[…] rarely in the text. What […] there be for the lack of […] Another feature, or perhaps […] aspect of the same featur[…] emerges when these two […] taken in conjunction, is […] little Professor Fortes's […] changed over the past two […] Indeed, given unidentified […] from both works, it might […] easy to place them in the […] chronological order. A[…] which has taken place, ho[…] the author's hardening […] about the incompatibility of […] structural approaches […] anthropology, that of […] Brown and that of Lévi[…] The reader of these books […] be inclined to join Profes[…] in his pessimism.

Connecting Cambodia with China

EVELINE PORÉE-MASPERO:
Étude sur les rites agraires des Cambodgiens
pp. 579-983. Paris: Mouton. 70fr.

With this volume Mme. Porée-Maspero brings to a close a great study which must be accounted one of the most remarkable scholarly achievements in the field of South-East-Asian history and ethnography.

The preceding two volumes have been reviewed in these pages (July 26, 1963 and September 30, 1965). This one contains two more descriptive chapters, on the *mākh* celebrations and the changing of the seasons, and a 118-page "Conclusion" which is a respectable monograph in itself. The remainder of the volume consists of an admirable scholarly apparatus to the entire work: five appendixes (on the mythical themes of the flood and the ancestral animal, ultimogeniture, matrilineal dualism, transcription of Cambodian texts cited, and particulars of documentary evidence on Cambodian custom); addenda and corrigenda; glossary and index of Cambodian words; general index (quite excellently detailed and arranged, occupying fifty-nine pages); index of Cambodian authors and informants; four maps; and a table of contents to all three volumes. It would be ungrateful to complain of the lack of a consolidated bibliography, but with this single reservation the aids to reference are of a standard that matches the quality of text.

Mme. Porée-Maspero's historical argument rests on the contrast between the small number of practices which can be related to Indian civilization and the preponderance of cultural resemblances which focus attention on the populations of southern China. The study of agricultural rites and their associated legends detaches Cambodia from India and connects it instead with the ancient and extensive Man civilization which flourished *c.* 500 B.C. in the basin of the Yangtse river. This was characterized, in the author's view, by a dualism represented by matrilineal moieties and concordant oppositions such as fire/water, sun/moon, bird/dragon (also, kite/crocodile), upland/lowland, and so on. In many important respects, including the inferred presence of matrilineal descent and totemism, this civilization is thought to be comparable with that of China before the Chou dynasty (*c.* 1050-256 B.C.). The dualistic principle is seen in particular in the fundamental opposition *yang/yin* in Chinese philosophy.

The origin of such features of Man civilization is hardly to be found in Indian institutions, though there are numerous points of contact in Indian legends. Other parallels, such as ethnic and topographical terms shared by Indo-China and India, are held to indicate instead a common influence previously exerted on these countries by ancient barbarian cultures to the north. The overland connexions are such, indeed, as to suggest that the Sanskritization of Indo-China must have taken place far earlier than is usually thought, and by contact with the peoples of the steppes rather than by the maritime routes of the Gulf of Bengal. Thus the answer to the old problem of how Hindus came to civilize Indo-China and Indonesia when to cross the "black water" entailed pollution is, according to Mme. Porée-Maspero, that it was the Man peoples who Sanskritized Indo-China and that a direct contact with India was established only later, and by the inhabitants of southern Indo-China, who were accomplished navigators.

The first such maritime connexion with India was made by the Fu-Nan culture, in the lower Mekong. In the first half of the third century A.D., and from that time until the twelfth century Cambodia was a major naval power in its own right. This capacity has been generally ignored in favour of Indian and Chinese maritime exploits which western historians have greatly magnified. There is textual evidence, however, of the "navigational genius" of the K'un-Lun people of Indo-China, and archaeological relics demonstrate commerce between the Mekong delta and the western coast of Malaya as early as the second century A.D. Today, after so many centuries, Cambodia still retains, in its rites and legends, definitive traces of that civilization which flourished before the Hinduization of Fu-Nan.

Even so compressed and partial a summary as this should indicate the scope of Mme. Porée-Maspero's enterprise and the challenge that she offers to many received ideas about the history of South-East Asia. In spite of its concentration on Cambodia, it is a work fit to be ranked with Coedès's superb *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*. Sociologically, however, this concluding volume awakens a sharper unease about certain concepts and hypothetical institutions which are basic to the argument. Mme. Porée-Maspero's major thesis is that there formerly existed a matrilineal dualism in Cambodia, but the objection has to be sustained that the admitted dualism of the symbolic classification is no evidence for a jural dualism and opposition of social groups.

The supposed indications of matriliny remain uncertain or appear more clearly to be unacceptable, especially since the author thinks it possible to adduce as comparative testimony certain factitious "indications of a matrilineal organization" among the patrilineal Batak of Sumatra. She is persuaded that ultimogeniture is positively associated with matriliny, and that the rule of inheritance can thus serve as an evidence of prior existence of the rule of descent, but this is not so. At one point, even group marriage is thought to be attested by courtship customs, and the author's comprehension of totemism is similarly rooted in an older and largely discredited anthropology.

In such regards, as well as in the general inspiration of her study, Mme. Porée-Maspero resembles most closely not Professor Coedès, who has in fact contested her thesis, but Marcel Granet, whose p[…] once was. It is disappointin[…] historical and ethnograph[…] gations of such superlativ[…] needlessly undermined by […] dated sociology, when a h[…] course in Paris with Profe[…] Dumont (whose contribution […] understanding of Indian c[…] do not once figure in any […] three volumes) could so ea[…] obviated defects of the kind […]

These critical points, […] attach to Mme. Porée-M[…] synthesis and not to the […] historical and cultural, out […] she has fashioned her reco[…] of past social forms. In […] arship, discernment, and […] ability she deserves the […] gratitude of all those who […] that delicate but resilient ci[…] which is now enduring […] terrible onslaught than any […] its turbulent past.

Toppling the Tutsi

PAUL DEL PERUGIA:
Les derniers rois mages
270pp. Paris: Gallimard. 21.25fr.

The divine king of the Tutsi depended on special councillors, who learnt by heart the secret code of their dynasty. These African wise men or magi are the focus of *Les derniers rois mages*, a study of complex rituals held necessary and performed for the prosperity of the whole kingdom of Rwanda and for the well-being of the sovereign himself.

As with other kingdoms of the interlacustrine area, the Tutsi oral traditions were highly diversified, very rich and covered a large span of time. Anthropologists have been puzzled to account for the present structure of the kingdom; which is a rigid, stratified society, based on the premise of inequality. First come the Tutsi, the tall pastoralist overlords who never demean themselves with tilling the soil; then the squat Hutu, the agricultural peasants; and the Twa, dwarf-like craftsmen, dancers or hunters, patronized by the king and his court. The question of how this hierarchy of class, occupation and physique arose is lost in the mists of unrecorded history. In this book the more recent process of extension of the Tutsi monarchy over small Hutu chiefdoms is vividly described. We are shown the role played by cattle-owning and herding in binding the native Bantu farmers to a subordinate position.

Less impressive is the wildly speculative account of more distant Tutsi history, in which evidence from Tibet, Mesopotamia, Greece, Rome and even Egypt is dragged in, with comparison between Viking sagas and Tutsi oral traditions. In fact, much serious ethnographic research has been consecrated by specialist scholars to working out a more solid set of hypotheses than those entertained here.

But Paul del Perugia is not an anthropologist. Writing as a diplomat in the French Foreign Office, he is offering no more than a lively sketch of the main outline of the Rwanda monarch[…] all his account of the det[…] formance of one ritual […] which he describes rather a[…] of choreography, is very […] The book as a whole is […] interest a wide audience be[…] its imaginative translation […] exotic traditions of an anci[…]can culture.

The premise of inequality […] firm for rather a long […] principle accepted compo[…] those most disadvantaged […] numerous, the Hutu. But a[…] Second World War the […] change swept throughout […] can continent and they […] Rwanda too. Since 1959 […] changes have occurred. Fir[…] the structure of clientship […] ished in 1954, then equality […] polling booth was intr[…] Through violent upheavals […] cially in November, 1959, […] finally came the proclamation […] republican regime at the be[…] of 1961. The power held […] for several centuries was […] destroyed.

Central planning and the escape from backwardness

ALEXANDER BAYKOV:
The Development of the Soviet Economic System
514pp. Cambridge University Press. £5.

ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON:
Europe in The Russian Mirror
158pp. Cambridge University Press. £2.

[…] Alexander Baykov's famous study, first published in 1946, and out of print for […] years, is now reprinted with[…] change from the original edition. […]bodies a life-time of experience […] research. A schoolboy in the […]ine before 1914, Baykov was […]ved on both sides in the Civil […] After many vicissitudes, he […] his way to Prague, where be[…] 1927 and 1939 he was a […]er of the Economic Research […]e of Professor Prokopovich, […]g for the Centre's monthly […]in on Soviet economic affairs. […]ov followed the course of Rus[…] planned industrialization in […] at first with scepticism, and […] with sympathy tinged with […]iration. In his book, he looks on the failure of Western capi[…] during the great depression […] the 1930s, and contrasts it with […] success of Russian industry:

> […] crisis of "over-production" was […]ed at the very time when the […]al economies of the economically […]ced countries were suffering from […]iodical crisis of production and […]

[…] book was completed in war[…] Britain in 1944, at a time when […] industrialization, launched by […]ussian leaders "in defiance of […] difficulties and dangers", had achieved its greatest triumph: […]an troops supported by Russian[…]factured tanks and aeroplanes […] back the German armies. Bay[…] study is undoubtedly a child of […]time. Writing before battalions […] Western economists and statisti[…] had examined in cold blood […]old war every major aspect of […]viet system in great detail, the […]r roundly asserted. "I do not […] the view that Soviet statistical […] other sources are less reliable […]n those published in other coun[…]", and unquestioningly repro[…]ed exaggerated figures now re[…]iated by the Soviet statistical […]cies, such as the now notorious […]ial series for grain production. […]e major catastrophes appear in […]y light: thus the purges of 1937 […] held to have "exercised not an […]se, but a beneficial influence […]the development of industry" be[…] of the rapid promotion of new […] which accompanied them. […]re many inaccuracies, particu[…] the accounts of policy debates […] the party in the late 1920s, […] echo the Stalinist textbooks.

[…]e 1930s: […]nning in practice

[…]standing merits shine through […]se deficiencies. The book […]s in brilliant summaries of […] and problems. The author […] attempt a detailed history, but […]torical introduction to the con[…]ary economic system", and […]pressed account of—for ex[…]—War Communism is unsur[…] in its sure insight into the es[…] features of those complex and […] years. These historical […] are all designed to assist the […]'s main purpose, "analysis of […]iet economic system as such", […] achievements and principles. […]hor presents for each sector […]onomy, and for the economy […]hole, a skilful analysis of the […]d system of the 1930s in prac[…] with its strange mixture of de[…] central planning with personal […]ves in industry, of tightly[…]lled collective farms with per[…]lots working for a free market, […]nned capital goods with con[…] choice on the retail market. […]rt of the study is the attempt […] how this system, far more […] and flexible than the […]and economy" portrayed in […]merican textbooks, emerged […]ourse of the Russian leaders' […] to transform a society which […]d subject to universal and in[…] economic regularities. For […] the Soviet system thus partly […] in response to the particular […]ns of its time, and was partly […]pt to handle problems which […]ecome of general relevance […]ld in which central planning […]nomic growth would replace competition. […]rding to his account, the Soviet agricultural system should be understood not only as a device to exact resources for industrialization from a reluctant peasantry, but also as an attempt to escape the problems of small-scale agriculture which faced (and still face) economic planners in most of the world. Large-scale farming is "the necessary *prerequisite* for the mechanization and the rational intensification of agriculture", and was combined in the collective farm with small personal subsidiary plots in an attempt to cope with the main social obstacle to agricultural progress—the peasant who "clings passionately to his farming", because, unlike the artisan, "he can produce on his own plot the same commodities as large-scale farming". Similarly Soviet labour legislation pointed the way to the solution of a problem which would confront all planned economies. In a planned economy labour discipline is no longer automatically enforced by fear of losing one's job: while the "acute and excessive use of penalties" in the Soviet Union is partly explained by the special circumstances of the 1930s, "to a certain extent the use of penalties is a logical outcome of full employment". At the same time, "the motive of personal interest . . . remains fundamental, persisting even after the elimination of private ownership". A differentiated wages system, providing economic as well as social incentives to managers and workers in state industry, was therefore essential.

At the heart of the Soviet economic system were the arrangements for the central planning of industrial production. Here Baykov again distinguished temporary difficulties due to "intensive and hasty industrialisation" from those "of a more general and deep-rooted nature". Capital construction and the expansion of production were adequately planned from the centre; the Soviet system proved able to cope better with these tasks than the capitalist economies of the interwar years. The main difficulty lay in the control of efficiency and quality:

> The private producer is *directly* interested that capital construction and production be carried out economically and, from the qualitative point of view, efficiently, for in this rests the success or failure of his enterprise and the scale of his profits. The director of a nationalised enterprise is not directly interested in achieving a maximum of economy and improvement in the qualitative side of his enterprise's work *unless the qualitative improvement programme is expressed in precise quantitative indices*, and his work is judged on the degree of their fulfilment.

Another major difficulty of the system has appeared with even greater force in the past fifteen years: central planning has been unable to provide adequate conditions for innovation and its diffusion, and the technological lag behind the United States remains immense. This problem was dismissed by Baykov, who concluded that in view of the abolition of commercial secrecy industrial inventions would be utilized more fully and rapidly in a planned economy; he underestimated the importance of the powerful stimulus provided to innovation as well as quality and efficiency by commercial competition in capitalist economies. In the light of recent experience, it is clear that innovation as well as efficiency must be included in Baykov's term "quality". If this is done his stress on "the difficulty of measuring qualitative tasks in quantitative indicators" crystallizes the difficulties confronting the Russian leaders as they attempt to adapt their planned economy to the post-industrialization epoch. Baykov approached his subject with sympathetic understanding but at the same time perceived some of the major problems which would confront Soviet industrial planning a generation later.

Was Soviet planning in the 1930s, as Baykov expected and hoped, for all its brutalities and inefficiencies a first step towards a new world economic order? Or was it merely a set of crude but effective controls to impose rapid industrialization on a rather backward economy? Perhaps the final assessment of the merits of this classic study will be determined, once the bitterness left behind by the turmoil and suffering of Stalin's industrialization has receded, by the ability of the Soviet economic system to cope with the age of the atom and the computer, and with the social and personal needs of the citizen.

Industrialization and backwardness

Alexander Gerschenkron of the University of Harvard, educated like Alexander Baykov in pre-revolutionary Russia (whose secondary schools he describes as "atrociously bad"), views Russian industrialization from quite a different aspect. In a celebrated essay first published in 1952 (reprinted in his collection of essays, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*) he argued that the nature of the industrialization process in various nineteenth-century European countries depended on their degree of economic backwardness. Backwardness at the moment of industrialization was compensated by substitutes for the free market and the private entrepreneur, the prime movers of Britain's industrialization, in the form of investment banks in Germany, and of the state in even more backward pre-revolutionary Russia. The need for integrated development in blocks gave the process "a spurtlike character". The shortage of skilled labour led to the use of large-scale capital-intensive plant. A powerful ideology tended to emerge to justify industrialization and spur it on. With the "gradual diminution of backwardness", however, the private entrepreneur and the free market tended to replace the banks and the state as the main moving force of industrial development, as happened in Germany and Russia just before the First World War.

In his Ellen McArthur lectures delivered at Cambridge University in May, 1968, and now revised for publication, Professor Gerschenkron adds some refinements to his earlier presentation and defends it from attack. In his first two lectures, in an interesting discussion of the Old Believers, he draws attention to the paradox that their ideology was "destitute of independent doctrinal content and utterly conservative in outlook", while in their economic pursuits they were by far the strongest and most effective entrepreneurial group in Russia before the serf reform of 1861. The evidence of the Old Believers, he claims, refutes Max Weber's hypothesis that the existence of an entrepreneurial ethic is a prerequisite of the rise of private capitalism:

> Their case appears to show that the social condition of a penalised, persecuted group affords sufficient impulse for the members of such a group to engage in profitable activities and to develop traits that Max Weber considered as specific appurtenances of the "capitalist spirit". By the same token some doubt is cast on the significance of Calvinist doctrines for the rise of modern capitalism.

This conclusion brings a certain consistency to Professor Gerschenkron's approach by excluding the protestant ethic and other doctrines associated with private entrepreneurial groups from the category "industrializing ideologies", which become uniquely a feature of industrialization under conditions of backwardness.

In the third lecture, Professor Gerschenkron's hypothesis is tentatively extended to cover the mercantilist period. Drawing heavily on the experience of Petrine Russia, he suggests that "everywhere mercantilism in promoting economic development was creating obstacles to the perpetuation of development", obstacles which were quickly removed in the most advanced countries, but, in the form of a reinforced serfdom, contributed to a long period of stagnation, or at any rate of decline in the rate of growth, in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Russia. Industrialization, forced prematurely on Russian peasant society by Peter for military reasons, simultaneously modernized Russia and drove it towards oriental despotism. In this interpretation Professor Gerschenkron does not differ too widely from Stalin. In November, 1928, Stalin, when himself embarking on forced industrialization, declared that Peter the Great, in feverishly building factories and workshops to supply his army, was making "a special kind of attempt to escape from the grip of backwardness". Four years later, at the time of his greatest agricultural crisis, he added that the advance of the Russian state under Peter was "carried out at the cost of the peasant serf, from whom he flayed off three skins". But Professor Gerschenkron's hypothesis has not yet got beyond the stage of a stimulating presentation—he does not examine, for example, the evidence of that school of Soviet historians which argues that rapid industrial expansion continued under Peter's successors; or Alexander Baykov's convincing demonstration (in *The Economic History Review*, Vol. VII, 1954) that the location of natural resources and river systems played a greater role than the continuation of serfdom in early nineteenth-century Russian backwardness.

For Professor Gerschenkron, industrialization in the Soviet period appears as something of an anomaly. Tsarist Russia by 1906-14 had already climbed a long way out of backwardness. How did it come about that from 1928 onwards the Russian experience displays "in an exaggerated form the peculiar features of industrialization in conditions of backwardness", with rapid growth, technological borrowing, a greatly increased role for the state, and a more vigorous industrialization ideology? The explanation, he concluded in 1952, is a political one: a dictatorial government, to which the vast majority of the population was in the long run opposed, maintained itself in power by presenting industrialization to the people as an important social function which could not be performed in its absence. In so doing, it reverted to a development pattern that "should have remained confined to a long-bygone age".

The phrase "should have" reveals a fundamental difficulty with the Gerschenkron hypothesis. It apparently assumes that both the increase and the decline of state influence in France, Germany and pre-revolutionary Russia represent in some sense an optimum. But no clear criteria for determining the optimum degree of participation of the state emerge. It can plausibly be argued, for example, that the partial retreat of the Russian state from economic influence after the 1905 revolution was brought about not by the increasing maturity of industry but by the political pressure of the reactionary forces round the Tsar; it occurred at a time when national income and industrial production per head were at a far lower level than in the equivalent period of declining state economic influence in Germany. In this light, Soviet industrialization would appear as in part a continuation of the tradition of Witte, himself denounced by contemporaries as imposing an artificial growth on a reluctant society.

Anomaly of the Soviet experience

In the final lecture in the present volume, Professor Gerschenkron heatedly rejects the charge made against him by Mr. E. H. Carr, in the Festschrift for Maurice Dobb (*Socialism, Capitalism, and Economic Growth*, edited by C. H. Feinstein), of displaying romantic nostalgia for the British type of industrialization, and points out that he has always treated the substitutions for private entrepreneurship employed in backward countries as "in the nature of creative innovations". He does not claim that a country is backward because the state is the moving force in its industrialization, but that in nineteenth-century Europe the state becomes important because the country is backward. In his new presentation, however, Professor Gerschenkron strongly stresses the limited validity of his model. He draws our attention to developments in Western Europe since 1914 and especially since 1945, where "expanded centralized guidance of the economy", in spite of the absence of backwardness, has played an increasing role. While remaining convinced that Soviet experience is an anomaly in terms of his general pattern, he is more tentative in his analysis of Soviet industrialization than in his earlier work, and concedes that it may prove possible "to construct an operational and more specific model of European industrialization which will meaningfully include the history of Soviet industrialization".

Indeed, Soviet industrialization may appear less anomalous when looked at in this wider context. Ever since the 1930s, developed capitalism has again employed the power of the state, which has enabled it to surmount natural tendencies to economic crisis, and to cope with the large-scale finance and organization required by the aircraft and computer industries: a form of state planning, more far-reaching than in any country of nineteenth-century Europe, is to be found in all advanced industrial countries. The history of the industrial world is not, however, simple progression from private entrepreneurship to state planning. The Russian authorities are now struggling with some desperation to attach to their highly centralized system an ability to innovate comparable with that of the United States and Japan. Professor Gerschenkron's assertion that in the Soviet Union the political regime is the main obstacle to a smooth transition to what he calls the "post-spurt" period is, like Baykov's earlier and more optimistic assessment of the Soviet economic system, in process of being tested in the course of the struggle for economic reform.

Cures for evil

JOHN BOWKER:

Problems of Suffering in Religions of the World

318pp. Cambridge University Press. £3 10s.

For some reason which perhaps the sociologists will one day explain, English theologians have since the beginning of the eighteenth century been more insistently concerned with the problem of evil than the theologians of any other country; and the topic is once again widely under discussion at the present time. In this book John Bowker usefully broadens the subject by describing the responses to human suffering in the major religions of the world Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Marxism (which he chooses to count for his purpose as a religion), Hinduism, Buddhism, and dualism both in the extinct forms of Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism and in the extant but modified form of Jainism. He writes clearly and interestingly, making a wide range of learning available to the reader, and keeping reflection always in touch with the human realities of pain and suffering.

Very interesting similarities and differences come to light. The common problem is the duality of man's experience, with its mixture of joy and sorrow, tears and laughter. The common response, apart from a very small minority, is the rejection of any ultimate dualism of good and evil deities or forces. This has been felt throughout the world to be too easy a solution; and in their different ways the great faiths have all sought to affirm a final subordination of evil to good.

Judaism developed from the primitive view of suffering as a penalty for sin towards what Bowker identifies as "the supreme contribution of Israel" to a human response to suffering, that suffering can be made redemptive, that it can become the "foundation of better things, collectively, if not individually". It was in Israel that the profound realization dawned that suffering can be a means of grace and a way of atonement. The same idea is of course central to Christianity: man is redeemed by the sacrificial suffering of the Christ, who is God's love incarnate. But although Christianity offers as its central reality a way of using suffering redemptively, Christian theology has found it hard to reflect this in a consistent theory. Mr. Bowker discusses the two strands of Christian thought, Augustinian (in terms of Fall and redemption) and Irenaean (in terms of the continuing creation of man through his experience of both good and evil), and makes the new point that the latter is not only a theological theory but also the substance of much Christian spirituality throughout the centuries.

In Islam suffering has been seen both as a punishment for sin and also, qualifying the interpretation, as a spiritual trial or test. In this latter respect suffering both forms character and reveals a man's true nature. Thus "The Quran opts firmly for the theory of instrumentality—for the belief that suffering is an instrument for the purposes of God".

Hindu thought has a certain affinity with philosophical idealism in the West, and, like idealism, regards suffering as the experience of reality from a special and limited perspective.

> The experience of suffering is real enough, but it must be seen in relation to the whole. The individual who has an adequate grasp of *Brahman* will find that suffering falls away in significance. Since everything that happens is a manifestation of *Brahman*, it follows that true understanding only arises when the accidents of time and space are penetrated and are seen to reveal *Brahman*. *Brahman* pervades all things without being exhausted in any one of them, which means that suffering or sorrow cannot be the final truth about existence.

The danger of this view—and it is to be noted that each conceptualization of suffering carries its own dangers with it is that one may become indifferent to removable human distresses. This has been recognized by many modern Hindu thinkers, and there is accordingly a new stress upon a detachment from the world which is quite distinct from indifference to human need.

In discussing Buddhism Mr. Bowker points out that *dukka* means much more than pain; it also refers to impermanence, emptiness, lack of wholeness or perfection. It is from all this that we are to seek to escape into the reality of nirvana. The aim of escape from the continual round of rebirth in this world of suffering can be individualistic and indeed selfish (so can the hope of salvation in Christianity). But in Mahayana Buddhism it is saved from egoism by the development of the Bodhisattva ideal. The Bodhisattva—like Gautama Buddha himself—postpones his own escape in order to help his fellows to salvation. Thus Buddhism contains within itself a tremendous ideal of compassion and of self-giving for others.

There is more agreement among the religions of the world concerning suffering and its cure than appears at a first glance. For them all suffering is a real and grievous present experience. For them all suffering can be turned into a pathway which leads to a transcendent good—heaven, or Brahman, or nirvana. For them all good is final and evil provisional. For them all the dualism of our immediate experience is set within an ultimate monism (in Advaita Hinduism and Buddhism) or monotheism (in Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and the Hindu theism of the *Bhagavad Gita*).

Mr. Bowker's volume includes numerous and sometimes lengthy extracts from the source books of the different religions. While unnecessary for the expert in the phenomenology of religions, these will be welcomed by the general reader. Indeed the chapters on the eastern religions, in particular, are admirable introductions to these religions as a whole as well as more specifically to their responses to the problem of suffering. This is throughout a valuable and welcome work.

Not in this world

JACQUES ELLUL:

Violence

Reflections from a Christian Perspective.

Translated by Cecilia Gaul Kings. 179pp. S.C.M. Press. 30s.

Dr. Ellul considers violence and is against it. But this means rather less than one might suppose: he takes a total-depravity view of human nature, and it he sees all violence as evil, this is little more than one application of his general principle previously expressed in *The Technological Society* (*TLS* October 21, 1965)—that conative behaviour is tainted from the start. Violence is bad; but so is practically everything that we do.

A Calvinistic approach, with clearly manichaean elements: at various points in this interesting but flawed book, we are warned against the danger of supposing this world to be a good thing. Against its depravity and ours, we are offered on all-or-nothing terms—an altogether otherworldly version of Christianity; and with theological fashions as they are at present, there is great corrective usefulness in this lean Pelagian, least secular-city of all philosophies. But in Dr. Ellul's hands, it fails to be helpful: he leaves the problem of violence (for all practical purposes) very much where he found it. Violently hostile to any distinguishing of cases, any separating of precept from counsel, he sees "violence" and condemns it—and in very much the same tone of voice—whether it is fully enacted in bloody revolution or war, or distantly implied in the gentlest exercise of civil authority. All human society (it appears) is irretrievably violent, irretrievably evil: the good Christian must stand outside it, untainted, his eyes wholly elsewhere; and if he desires to take action, he must confine himself to rebuking the men of violence and power.

This does not help us very much. Stuck as we are in a mixed kind of world, among complex situations, we need some kind of a working casuistry, and even a total commitment to transcendence and perfection will not save us from this need. When a war or a revolution happens along, we must either take part in it (on one side or the other) or else not take part in it: the fullest regeneration in Christ will not provide us with a third alternative. So we need to think. Granted that violence is not a good thing, can it ever be justified as the lesser evil? While fewer Christians would now justify nationalistic war, can we perhaps justify revolutionary war, undertaken for the relief of the oppressed?

Theoretically, Dr. Ellul would by pass such questions, on the ground that there can be no question of "justification" as long as we live in this evil world and are governed by its values: violence, whatever its nature and whatever the pretext, is inherently evil, not so much for humanitarian reasons but rather because it involves an acquiescence in necessity, a rejection of true Christian freedom. This ought to involve us in a rigorously pacifist neutrality, an absolute refusal to be involved in the violence on either side. But in practice it seems to involve Dr. Ellul in something like a *peccá pour mieux* position: it is not so much the actual violence of the human race that grieves him, but rather, the tendency of Christians to justify violence in the name of their religion. "Violence and revolution—let them continue! But without the presence and justification of Christians." And if Christians do become involved, this will not matter so very much, so long as they do not suppose themselves to be doing God's will.

From this standpoint, Dr. Ellul launches a swinging and highly persuasive attack upon the present-day "theologies of revolution". This attack constitutes the central and most valuable element in his book, and will be deeply appreciated by those who distrust the selective, cruel, and romantic bloody-mindedness that often finds expression on the revolutionary Christian left.

Against those theologies of revolution and their gospels of hatred and violence, he argues cogently and well, though from premises that few will accept. But he is a somewhat erratic and rhetorical writer, much given to over-statement and wild assertion: constantly, he finds himself heading for moral or intellectual danger, and has to change direction clumsily at the last moment. In his anxiety to deny the rightness of violent revolution, for [illegible] very nearly talks us [illegible] bother very seriously also, and it is only with obvious [illegible] he remembers to include [illegible] revolutionaries and [illegible] violence within the [illegible] denouncing.

But he is no crude [illegible] heart is better than [illegible] philosophy. "To be on [illegible] the oppressed and at the [illegible] have to tell them that the [illegible] of violence are futile and [illegible] no real change—this is [illegible] thankless position anyone [illegible] Honourably, realistically, [illegible] in hopeless charity, going [illegible] erate the otherworldliness [illegible] ilanity into a suggestive [illegible] unregenerate world often [illegible] no goodness at all.

This is a timely book [illegible] to have been translated [illegible] instance, for the Americas [illegible] but we also can do with [illegible] that the violence which [illegible] fied by revolutionary [illegible] open to serious objec[illegible] matic, humanitarian, [illegible] quite as much as the [illegible] and military violence [illegible] Christians were prepared [illegible] in earlier days. This is a [illegible] book too, packed with [illegible] dom, but flawed by a [illegible] implausible metaphysic [illegible] evil, and a consequent [illegible] draw distinctions. There [illegible] and degrees of violence. [illegible] Ellul strongly denies this [illegible] ness of the tax-collector [illegible] remembered, but it is not [illegible] same thing as the body [illegible] murderer. The state, [illegible] impudence of its present[illegible] sions, is not a total and [illegible] evil; conversely, the "[illegible] tion", like the just war, [illegible] perfectly conceivable in the [illegible] ever unlikely in practice.

We need to draw the [illegible] where. Dr. Ellul is [illegible] against any drawing of [illegible] think out of workable categ[illegible] his contracting-out phil[illegible] taken seriously, would [illegible] would quite at the mo[illegible] instincts and its lo[illegible] violence-men.

Perhaps this would be [illegible] destiny for a world that [illegible] entirely to Satan. "Prin[illegible] world" he may be, but [illegible] unchallenged? Still uncov[illegible]

The inward history of Augustine

EUGENE TeSELLE:

Augustine the Theologian

381pp. Burns and Oates. £4.

In the preface to his *Augustine of Hippo*, Mr. P. R. L. Brown spoke of himself as having been led along the side of a mountain-face, above the plains of Augustine's routine duties as a bishop and far below the heights of his speculations on the Trinity. Dr. TeSelle still leaves *Augustine the Bishop* to Van der Meer, but is very much concerned with the Trinity. He provides an admirable counterpart to Mr. Brown's distinguished biography, so that the two books can be read together with great advantage. Both occupy themselves with the development of Augustine's personality and thought (TeSelle is attempting "the inward history of a brilliant mind"), both look for, and pretty well agree about, the principal turning-points and the reasons for them, both wrestle with his debt to various kinds of Platonism and try to discern how this fared as his understanding of the Christian faith and revelation increased through his growing experience of life in the church. Dr. TeSelle, however, says little of the general environment, of Augustine's conduct in controversies, or of his thoughts about culture, history and politics, all of which Mr. Brown handles so well and deliberately excludes—not without some loss—the doctrine of church and sacraments, while he does discuss at length Augustine's epistemology and metaphysic, his Christology and doctrine of the Trinity, and his teaching about man, original sin, freedom, grace and predestination.

In order to chart Augustine's intellectual history, the book is divided into two main parts, the "Apprentice" and the "Master", each of which is subdivided into three periods: 386-87, 387-91, 391-96 and 397-410. 411-18, 419-30 A.D. Much attention is paid to such recent work as Mlle. La Bonnardière's *Recherches de chronologie augustinienne* which enables us to relate the sermons more effectively to the contemporaneous treatises. Scholars will be interested in Dr. TeSelle's pertinacious inquiry into the sources of Augustine's philosophy, especially his attempt to define the role of Porphyry, and in the stress laid upon his reading of other Christian theologians. He goes so far as to say that the major turns in his theology were usually precipitated not by personal experience, but by his reading something new.

Both points, chronology and reading, are important if we are to grasp the development of Augustine's thought on the Trinity. Following up the chronological dissection and re-ordering of the *De Trinitate* by Chevalier and Du Roy (with, in particular, books V-VII placed as late as 413-16) Dr. TeSelle tries to show what Augustine believed before he read the Cappadocians, how he moved on when he had come to know their theory of relations, and how, only subsequently, he worked out his celebrated human analogies to the Trinity to give fuller expression to that theory, and how in turn this led to fuller thought about human nature and grace. In all this historical work Dr. TeSelle is both well-informed and capable of thinking for himself.

This is not a manual of Augustinian theology in which each topic is treated once in a chapter of its own. The pursuit of Augustine's intellectual development is steadily maintained, so that one has to follow his thinking about being as such or the Trinity or grace from chapter to chapter in several subdivisions. If this is occasionally awkward, it is realistic, and it preserves us from the kind of treatment which calls a mosaic of citations "St. Augustine's doctrine of" this and that. While it can scarcely be said that the book is easy reading, the difficulties are due to the profundity of the themes; the style is clear and fluent. And though there are probably some gaps and flaws in his arguments, Dr. TeSelle does succeed very well in correlating Augustine's developing analysis of being and his cosmology with his biblical studies and with his gropings towards a doctrine of God as Trinity and again with his doctrine of man and grace. He shows how a step forward at one point frequently threw up a new problem, and how willing Augustine was—at least till near the end of his life—to reconsider persistent and fundamental problems in the light of new challenges.

Thus, to take an early example (which may be compared with Mr. Brown's parallel but [illegible] account), when he went [illegible] Africa and began to [illegible] history, faith and life of [illegible] tian community the [illegible] ment of what Platonism [illegible] did not rest in this as its [illegible] the problems he had been [illegible] at Cassiciacum, but recog[illegible] he must now grapple all [illegible] with fresh problems of [illegible] and historical events, [illegible] those recorded in Scripture [illegible] on, too, he had several [illegible] rethink the whole complex [illegible] ideas about man, sin [illegible] when some single point [illegible] him with new force.

While his book is struct[illegible] in most of its detail histo[illegible] TeSelle wants also, by [illegible] Augustine's approach to [illegible] to consider what the [illegible] enterprise essentially is and [illegible] can rethink his problems [illegible] measure of the same [illegible] originality. So sometimes [illegible] pares Augustine with [illegible] makes excursions into [illegible] ology, indicating resemb[illegible] Whitehead and Teilhard [illegible] and Karl Rahner, claiming [illegible] that, in basing an entire [illegible] on a theory of grace as [illegible] ate illumination of human [illegible] Rahner's neo-Thomism [illegible] Augustinian rather than [illegible] Dr. TeSelle himself believes [illegible] while the Thomistic [illegible] perhaps appropriate to [illegible] Christian domination [illegible] Augustine will be a more [illegible] guide as we enter a new [illegible]

Crimes romantic

[illegible]NER HEPPENSTALL:

[illegible]ch Crime in the Romantic Age

[illegible]p. Hamish Hamilton. £2 10s.

[illegible] Little Pattern of French Crime, [illegible]ished last year, Mr. Heppenstall [illegible] a notably sophisticated book [illegible] criminal matters during *la [illegible]époque*. His new excursion into [illegible]ield of crime is chiefly concer[illegible]with the period from 1820 to [illegible]. The design resembles that of [illegible]arlier book, especially in that [illegible]uthor does not give the usual [illegible]ke mechanical treatment of [illegible]dual cases, but carries his nar[illegible]ve on in a flowing way over and [illegible]n the years and makes it reflect [illegible]elations and combinations of [illegible]ster and circumstance.

[illegible]nture looms large: contem[illegible] criminal, police, judicial and [illegible] activities fascinated some of [illegible]reatest French writers in an [illegible]ghen romance so powerfully [illegible]with realism. Here Stendhal [illegible]the inspiration of *Le Rouge [illegible]oir* and the prospect of [illegible]al, Balzac the figure and sub[illegible]re of Vautrin, Hugo his Val[illegible]and his Javert for *Les Misérables* as well as the tour de force of *[illegible]ernier Jour d'un condamné*. [illegible]eppenstall, with the special [illegible]thy of a highly imaginative [illegible]al, explores the relationship [illegible]een the detectives, the criminals [illegible]their fictional derivatives very [illegible]dgeably and judiciously.

[illegible] anyone interested in French [illegible]al history and literature, the [illegible] is a feast. Here are the still-[illegible]olved mystery of the Courier [illegible]gon, which so curiously en[illegible] the repertory of Irving and [illegible] Harvey; the poet-killer [illegible]aire; Fieschi and his infernal [illegible]hine; the murderer due de [illegible]ïo; the arsenic poisoner Hélène [illegible]do; together with a whole host [illegible]detectives, judges and prosecu[illegible]prefects of police, actors and [illegible] of letters.

[illegible]rimes fictional

[illegible]URLEY:

[illegible] a Cat

[illegible] Gollancz. 28s.

[illegible]mans policiers at least, the [illegible]ve who works by feeling must [illegible]et less than the one who infers [illegible]facts. Mr. Burley has estab[illegible]his West-Country Superinten[illegible]cyclife as the first kind, and [illegible]these limits makes readable [illegible]onal stories. This one hinges [illegible]killing of one of those flend[illegible]ractive girls who, fictionally [illegible], are so often murderees.

[illegible]EW GARVE:

[illegible]rang

[illegible] Collins. 25s.

[illegible]d thing about Andrew Garve's [illegible]us fictional frauds is that pub[illegible]ility demands that they finally [illegible]d, by that time, our sympa[illegible]e with the defrauders. Here, [illegible]British gaol, they converge on [illegible]; on a remote mine in mon[illegible]country; and how what they [illegible]re ought to net them £300,000 [illegible]thing we discover only when [illegible]'t.

[illegible]KENRICK:

[illegible]y Good Body's a Dead One

[illegible] Cape. 25s.

[illegible]'s are getting guyer, and this [illegible]el murder story is very [illegible]ndeed. It centres around a [illegible]tle night club in Nice where [illegible]pretty lousy American [illegible]s decide to investigate a [illegible]hat might involve a pretty [illegible]irl-friend. The wisecracking [illegible]ash cheerful, the *évènements* [illegible]bly farcical, and the gastro[illegible]angle worth whatever's the [illegible]e of a star.

[illegible]LEXANDER GRAHAM:

[illegible]s in the Air

[illegible] Hamilton. 30s.

[illegible]w American writer's thriller is based on the moment we must all increasingly dread, the moment when the bomb goes off in the plane. Jacob Landau survives, but his friend dies, and Jacob must find out why it all happened. Not first-class, but plenty good enough for a first thriller.

TOM LILLEY:

The Projects Section

288pp. Macmillan. 30s.

The moral of this tautly exciting novel is that you can combat guerrillas only by burning no holds; and then, what's victory worth? The locale is Malaya during the Emergency, and, perversely, it is an act of upholding rather than stretching law which creates most misery and bad faith. The details of operational sleights are absorbing.

DONALD MacKENZIE:

Night Boat to Puerto Vedra

216pp. Hodder and Stoughton. 25s.

At present there are many better-than-adequate thrillers set in Central or South America, and among these Donald MacKenzie's latest can rate highly. The story is sufficiently moral to be difficult to summarize, but its motives include the hero's innocence and care for his pregnant wife, German revanchism and Jewish pursuit. The hero's final safety is a hair's-breadth achievement.

DEREK MARLOWE:

Echoes of Celandine

192pp. Cape. 25s.

A macabre dainty of high-flown criminal rhetoric murder for the connoisseur.

ANN MORICE:

Death in the Grand Manor

222pp. Macmillan. 25s.

Miss Morice's first thriller is certainly for women rather than all sexes, but of a pleasantly light kind with not a few of the characters something better than stock. The narrator is a bright young actress, intermittently "resting" in the countryside.

JOHN MORRIS:

The Candywine Development

287pp. Collins. 30s.

A second excellent thriller by the Jamaican combination calling itself John Morris. Same leads as in *Fever Grass*, tough sugar-planter Peter Blackmore, beautiful black Jassy, policeman McKay and his tough wife, and this time fighting against extra evil about to enter Jamaica as well as that allowed for in a Mafia-controlled casino. The murder method in the prologue is undoubtedly making its first fictional appearance and, interestingly, could not have done so until recent sexual freedoms in print.

CHRISTOPHER WOOD:

"Terrible Hard", Says Alice

224pp. Constable. 30s.

Clearly a basically documentary novel about life in the conscript British army during the Cyprus troubles, which turns out to be as the women back home could hardly imagine it in their more lurid flights and this, not least, because of the co-operative enthusiasm of the women out there, both local and imported. Lusty, gusty and pretty disgusting: the title is punning.

JAMES YARDLEY:

Kiss the Boys and Make them Die

199pp. Michael Joseph. 25s.

Who, they ask, will be the new James Bond? Well, at the moment it is probably Sangster's Touchfeather with Melody Blaine close behind, and a host of other pretty contestants, like Kiss Darling here, crowding the latter. This one is an Egyptian extravaganza, with the virginal heroine playing shoikhess; not tops, but fast and gay.

Recapitulations

W. H. G. ARMYTAGE:

Four Hundred Years of English Education

353pp. Cambridge University Press. £2. (Paperback, 20s.)

"At its worst the book becomes a rather dreary recital of reasonably well-known incidents in history of education, enlivened by the odd unusual fact. At its best Mr. Armytage's book begins to approach the task of relating the development of schools and universities to the changes in knowledge, in society and in the shape of the economy that a true historian of education in its social role would wish to emphasize" (*TLS*, January 28, 1965).

❦ This edition contains a new chapter dealing with the developments since 1963. Intending students of education and interested parents and teachers will find this a valuable guide to the complexities of current educational controversies.

JOHANNES BOBROWSKI:

Levin's Mill

Translated by Janet Cropper.

230pp. Calder and Boyars. 35s.

German title: *Levins Mühle*, the first novel of one of Germany's finest postwar poets. This "story of racial and religious tensions" is presented in a "narrative style that is jaunty, colloquial, humorous, and exactly attuned to the mentality of the village setting. The poet's sensibility is present only in certain descriptive passages and in the strong sense of ambiance and atmosphere conveyed between the lines. . . . Humour and irony save the novel from ponderous political or moral allegory . . . and it is a delightful complement to his lyrical evocations of East European landscapes and figures" (*TLS*, January 14, 1965).

❦ Bobrowski's most significant prose work is perhaps not his easiest to translate. However, Janet Cropper evokes the full flavour and subtle nuances of the author's style with imaginative resourcefulness as she vividly brings to life the tribal goings-on in a West Prussian village in the latter part of last century.

F. F. BRUCE:

The English Bible

263pp. Lutterworth Press. 35s.

For this "study of the various translations of the Bible into the English language . . . Professor Bruce brings together a wide range of facts and information in a manner at once scholarly and readable" (*TLS*, August 4, 1961).

❦ This is a new and revised edition which even manages to include a documentary account of the work on the New English Bible Old Testament and Apocrypha and a discussion of some of the new renderings. Professor Bruce suggests that in the N.E.B. Old Testament conjecture has been resorted to much more freely than in most of the older English versions—or even in others of more recent date.

CHARLES HUMPHRIES and WILLIAM C. SMITH:

Music Publishing in the British Isles

392pp. Oxford: Blackwell. £8 8s.

"The whole layout of this dictionary is admirable, and the choice and quality of the illustrations is excellent. The introduction gives a good survey of music engraving, printing and publishing in Britain", and the volume "may be considered the authoritative work on the subject" (*TLS*, October 1, 1954).

❦ A well-produced second edition of an extremely valuable work of reference, with forty-five supplementary pages giving the names of more than 130 additional firms and numerous amendments and additions to previous entries. The latter comprise mainly extra addresses, corrected dates and unrecorded partnerships.

RICHARD ROUD:

Jean-Luc Godard

192pp. Thames and Hudson. 30s. (Paperback, 18s.)

Richard Roud "attempts what has rarely been attempted in British writing on the cinema: a level of discourse comparable with that one would expect in a book of literary criticism. The films are not taken as a special case . . . but as complex expressions of ideas and a way of seeing things, and as the work above all of a major artist. . . . The book avoids the usual chronological, film-by-film approach; instead it is a series of interlinked dissertations. . . . Naturally there is plenty of ground for argument" in the book, but "it is impossible to imagine one which could do its job better" (*TLS*, January 4, 1968).

❦ The British Film Institute "Cinema One" series, originally published by Secker and Warburg, is now in the hands of Thames and Hudson. To cover Godard's development since 1967, Mr. Roud has added a separate chapter on "*La Chinoise* and After", as he feels this "marked a new beginning, a radical attempt 'to start from zero'". The "Filmography" and illustrations have also been brought up to date for this "second revised edition".

VICTOR SERGE:

Men In Prison

256pp. Gollancz. £2 2s.

French title: *Les hommes dans la prison*; reviewed as part of the Serge collection *Les révolutionnaires*: "A set of spiritual exercises evoking the inhuman pressures of five years' incarceration upon a personality determined not to be broken. . . ." The novel is distinguished by "Serge's uncommon talent for visual imagery" and by his digressions into dramatized anarcho-Marxist theory, "which at certain points anticipate insights only recently gained in the sociology of correction" (*TLS*, September 28, 1967).

❦ The translation is firm and mature, with none of the uncontrolled lushness that occasionally marred the rendering of the lyrical passages in the same translator's version of Serge's *Naissance de notre force* (*Birth of Our Power*, published in 1968, and now in Penguins). The American and British publishers have unfortunately displaced the order of Serge's novels in their edition of his early fiction: *Men In Prison* was his first novel and should preferably be read first, by the novice at least, in order to make sense of the chronological sequence which is also that of the author's own life-history.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, Jr.:

The Vital Center

The Politics of Freedom.

274pp. André Deutsch. £2 5s.

Original title: *The Politics of Freedom*. "The importance of Mr. Schlesinger's book resides in its representative quality. He is a brilliant journalist on the rather standardized American pattern; and his book differs little from a score of others—and hundreds of articles—published in the United States during the past 12 months. . . . Mr. Schlesinger is a highly intelligent man, who knows his job thoroughly. But his intelligence is confined within the territorial limits and the political and economic preconceptions of the North American continent" (*TLS*, May 12, 1950).

❦ This is a renamed and slightly revised version of the plea of an American liberal for a middle way in American and world politics. A brief new introduction maintains the point of view of the original, but tones down a little its note of confidence.

Early type forms and the triumph of Roman

HARRY CARTER:
A View of Early Typography up to about 1600
The Lyell Lectures 1968.
137pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £2 2s.

The first century and a half after the invention of printing saw a complete change in the methods of manufacturing and selling books, and every other kind of written matter designed to be read by more than a few people. In a sense, this change was due entirely to the invention and exploitation of the printing press. But the economic pressures that set Gutenberg off on his long voyage of discovery and induced capitalists like Fust to put up the money to finance him were not peculiar to them. The ever-growing demand for reading matter from a larger and larger proportion of the increasing population of western Europe had already had its effect. The growth of scribal shops, mass-producing texts by hand for commercial distribution, had already taken place. When Vespasiano da Bisticci offered to provide a library for Federigo da Montefeltro, he set himself a task well within his powers: he had access to the texts, and an ample number of scribes. To have assembled the same texts in printed form (had the task been less than irremediably distasteful) would have meant searching all Europe and even then being disappointed.

But the discovery and spread of the printing press was due to a different kind of demand—not that of one man for many books, but of many people for a few books. It was this that transformed the book business from a restricted craft dependent on the speed and availability of scribes to an industry based on a number of technical inventions that required the cooperation of a number of different highly skilled artisans. Where before a single scribe or a stationer employing a number of scribes had a range limited in scope and area, the press could now reach, directly or indirectly, everyone in Europe, and could exercise a new pressure on the course of events.

* * *

Given this change both in the method of manufacturing books and in the demand for books—and given that the new influence caused books to be written which would never have appeared in manuscript form—it is perhaps surprising that the form of books altered so little and so slowly. When Froben issued the first octavo Bible in 1491, the type he used was a small version of the rotunda, which (not the roman) was the most successful type-design of the fifteenth century; the *mise-en-page* repeated the formula for small bibles finally developed in Anglo-Norman scriptoria in the thirteenth century.

There were a number of reasons for this slow development; not least were the wishes of the reader. One of the most important factors in legibility is familiarity with the letter form. The early printers were careful to imitate familiar letter forms, even to the point of multiplying different combinations of letters so as to achieve the flexibility of a written script. But the limitations of the new process, the difficulty of creating letters for print, and a changing taste which the press itself influenced—all these operated to change the kind of letters, and the shapes of the letters themselves, by the end of the sixteenth century.

Up to now, this has been largely uncharted territory. The importance of an accurate knowledge of the history of manuscript letter form was recognized by Politian; and in the five hundred years since the disciplines of palaeography have been clearly defined. But with the invention of printing that interest ceases as an end in itself, to be replaced hitherto by specialist interests; the incunabulist attributes unsigned undated books on typographic evidence; the amateur of letter forms will dive into the ocean of printed letters produced since 1450 to recover a beautiful letter. But the application of palaeographic techniques to printed texts has been wanting until very recently. What can be done when pre-printing techniques for textual criticism are applied to a printed text was effectively demonstrated by Professor Hinman in his *The Printing and Proof-reading of the Shakespeare First Folio* (see *TLS*, November 20, 1969), when he isolated the work of the different compositors in the same way as a classical scholar will identify disparate elements in a manuscript text.

But whatever the possible applications of a knowledge of type letter forms, of how they were made and how they were put together, the fact remains that it is knowledge worth having for its own sake; like the history of any other letter form. But the qualifications for a scholar who attempts it are formidable. First of all, he must have a familiar knowledge of the history of letter forms in general, written, engraved, carved or however else produced. Secondly, he must have an equally familiar knowledge of printing processes, so that he can easily trace back the often imperfect ink image on paper to the type that impressed, and the matrix and punch that created the type. Thirdly, he must have a grasp of the technological and economic history of the past five hundred years, without which it will be impossible to trace the paths that type letters took or the changes that were made in them. Fourthly, he must have an eye keen enough to detect the difference, perhaps less than a thousandth of an inch, between one letter and another, and to recognize the one letter, out of perhaps a hundred, that distinguishes one format from another. Fifthly, if his eye is keen, it must also be sensitive: to understand why two men will always make an "o" differently, to recognize the style of one engraver from another. Finally, it will be well if he has some practical knowledge of the processes that go into the creation of letters for print, if he has engraved a steel punch, struck it in a copper matrix (that is, filed and rubbed down its outer edges so that when placed in a mould it casts a letter that aligns correctly with all the other letters in the fount) and cast type and dressed it, removing any blemishes before it is distributed into case ready for use.

* * *

Mr. Carter fulfils all these requirements, and to them he adds another gift, necessary to all those who try to describe material objects or technical processes; he writes in simple prose, easy to understand (and correspondingly hard to write). It is a style that has been developing for forty years, since his admirable translation of the part of Pierre Simon Fournier's *Manuel Typographique* that deals with type-founding, which appeared as *Fournier on Typefounding* in 1930. *A View of Early Typography* is a characteristically modest title, implying as it does an element of doubt: "This is my view, but there may be others." If there are other views, other factors unknown to Mr. Carter which will alter his view of the first century and a half of typography, time may reveal them; but they are unlikely to alter the main outlines drawn for the first time.

The structure of the book is simple. It begins with a description of "the technicalities of type", how it is made and what of. The next three chapters deal with the proliferation of different types in the early years, the "establishment of common idioms"—the proper letters, that is, for certain types of work or different countries, and the eventual triumph of the Roman letter over the vernaculars of other countries. Finally, we return to technicalities and the history of type-founding and punch-cutting; having seen how type is made and used, it is easier to understand and appreciate the work of those who created it. Finally, there is a useful supplement on the development of italic types, a subject not dealt with in the original lectures.

The first part is, to some extent, a work of vindication. More has been written (including some of the worst nonsense) about the invention of movable types than about any other aspect of the archaeology of books. Mr. Carter has two main points. First to establish the correctness of T. L. De Vinne's assertion in 1877: "He was the inventor of typography, and the founder of modern printing, who made the first adjustable type-mould"; and secondly to prove that, so far as the facts are ascertainable, type was from the beginning cast in an alloy of lead, tin and antimony from copper matrices, struck with steel punches. There are two critical documents. There is the *Dialogues français pour les jeunes enfants*, a forerunner of the many educational books for children in question-and-answer form. This was printed in 1567 by Christophe Plantin, so it is fair to assume that "E", the printer who answers the questions on the making of books, speaks with Plantin's voice. The process described conforms exactly with the two points made above, even down to the parts of the adjustable mould. The other is the first known representation of type being cast, in a book printed by Joos Lambrecht of Ghent in 1545. Lambrecht is one of the most attractive characters in the Netherlands Renaissance, printer, publisher and poet, a scholar and an advocate of roman type. More important for us, he was also a punch-cutter and typefounder, and his picture shows a mould of the same sort that was used till the end of the last century, with a man pouring metal into it from a ladle in the traditional way.

But by the mid-sixteenth century, type-foundries had begun to have a separate existence from the printers who used the type: were the same techniques used a century earlier? All the evidence points that way. The object held together by two screws that Gutenberg wanted to keep secret in his lawsuit of 1438 must have been a mould. The man called Kraft who worked in Italy from 1476 "filing and finishing punches and matrices for casting letters", and the Venetian printer who in 1484 left in his will "duas matres justalas litterarum et formas pertinentes" confirm this view. Only in one respect may the process have differed in the early years. The alloy of type-metal—in Plantin's time (as now) mainly lead with small proportions of tin and antimony—may originally have had a preponderance of tin. The regular mention of quantities of tin in the fifteenth century, from Rome to Sweden, suggests this. But Gutenberg himself, while at Strasbourg, bought lead.

At the end of Mr. Carter's book there is a map in two colours, showing the sites where printing was practised by 1476 (oddly, it includes both Oxford and London). The four main geographical areas also shown are the Holy Roman Empire, stretching from Florence to Lübeck; the duchy and fiefs of Burgundy, beginning almost as far south as Lyon, and including all the Low Countries down to Dunkirk and beyond; the ecclesiastical province of Mainz, all central Germany from Hamburg to the fringes of Italy, including Erfurt, Bamberg and Augsburg; and the province of Cologne, stretching as far to the west as Bruges, and including all the present Netherlands and Belgium as far as Ghent in the north but not Louvain or Brussels in the south. Eastern Germany, east and south Italy—connected by Naples with Spain, which in turn joins on to France minus Burgundy make up the rest of the geographical picture of early printing.

* * *

It is important to keep this picture in mind because it explains why and how types moved and their designs changed. Mainz, half-way along the Rhine and on the borders of Burgundy, looked to the north; and the designs of the first types, the textura of the forty-two-line and thirty-six-line Bibles, the two bastarda types of the thirty-one-line and thirty-line of the Indulgences, and the later rotundas of the Durandus and the *Catholicon*, are all northern in inspiration. Two other facts about them stand out. First, the letters used for each book were more formal than would have been considered necessary in a manuscript of the same text. The Bible types were "like that now used to print missals", as the writer of the *Cologne Chronicle* of 1499 put it; the indulgence types are more like a charter hand. The other fact is aptly called by Mr. Carter the "backward look".

Maybe it is to be put down partly to an instinct in punchcutters to find forms that are fundamental and timeless. Their work is so slow and difficult, especially if they have to strike and justify, that, if they can choose, they will devote it to something that may prove permanent.

If something has lasted well up to the present, it may continue to last in the future. This feeling does much to explain the preferences of the early printers.

At Strasbourg and Cologne, the next centres after Mainz, the same tendencies can be seen: Mentelin's Bible (not after 1461) is in a fine imitation of a book-hand that might be of the thirteenth century. But Strasbourg and Cologne were also great entrepots, with trading relations far away: Strasbourg to the south and east, Cologne to the north and west. Regional prejudices, which saw the later creation of regional vernacular hands like the *schwabacher* and the various *bâtardes*, were overlaid with the lines of these trading routes. The Oxford printer was supplied (and perhaps initially capitalized) from Cologne; and, nearer home, half the early Netherlands types came from the same source. Nor did the middle German towns only export. One of the earliest imports from Italy was the roman letter, first cut at Strasbourg in 1467; but the letter of humanism was far less influential than the Italian rotunda, *litera Bononiensis*, the letter of canon law and the law-school of Bologna.

The impact of this (if Mr. Carter's brilliant and, plausible conjecture is taken) is a typical example of the movement of types at this time. The first such letter was cut for Wendelin of Spires at Venice and probably by a [illegible]. Within one year an imitation was found at Cologne, and [illegible] years types so close in [illegible] bly from the same hand [illegible] Aalst near Brussels, [illegible] Strasbourg. The answer [illegible] that all four imitations [illegible] Strasbourg, the centre [illegible] ter's map, and were [illegible] engraver there. What [illegible] able is the speed at which [illegible] travelled.

Although the textura [illegible] vived in England into the [illegible] century (and in the Netherlands [illegible] the nineteenth)—and [illegible] among the vernaculars, [illegible] *Fraktur* still survives—[illegible] theme of the second half [illegible] is the growth of the roman [illegible] is important to remember [illegible] laus Jenson used his [illegible] roman less than his [illegible] rotundas, but by the [illegible] century the change [illegible] being made. It is possible [illegible] four strands in the development [illegible] there is the increasing [illegible] influence of humanism [illegible] Secondly, the roman letter [illegible] it was on the humanist [illegible] determined and deliberate [illegible] of the "backward look" [illegible] punch-cutters, in this [illegible] clear round hand writing [illegible] thirteenth century. This [illegible] was added strength of [illegible] tional capitals added [illegible] pattern of the minuscule [illegible] quarian researches of [illegible] iaco d'Ancona, Mantegna [illegible] all Felice Feliciano—the [illegible] concrete form to the [illegible] duced the belief that [illegible] were ideal, detached [illegible] medium in which they [illegible] cuted, demonstrable like [illegible] tion in Euclid. Finally, [illegible] brief but all-important [illegible] of Francesco Griffo and [illegible]

As Dr. Giovanni Mardersteig demonstrated, the type [illegible] devised (and the [illegible] Aldus's name lent to [illegible] before it. As a letter, it [illegible] ing and easy to read [illegible] infinitely subtle, the [illegible] ent forms of some letters [illegible] the spring and variety [illegible] letters. It is, moreover, [illegible] of all our roman types: [illegible] Francis I decreed like [illegible] French language (a decree [illegible] France), he also decreed [illegible] letter for it. Through [illegible] the Aldine letter the [illegible] French punch-cutters of [illegible] generation, Garamond [illegible] and De Colines, chose [illegible] and they in turn were [illegible] the next generation. Granjon [illegible] Le Bé.

* * *

This brings us to Mr. Carter's chapter and the emergence of the punch-cutter as a separate individual, his trade a profession. The dominance of the French men was due partly to the quality of their work, and partly to the position of many French printers reformed (with which he went into exile, taking their types with him). One of the great (and underrated) French punch-cutters, Hauftin, was a Protestant of Rochelle, and his nephew worked in London. Frenchmen who worked for Plantin's life in London, and his [illegible] much used in England were [illegible] of the seventeenth century [illegible] probable that his equipment [illegible] in England, since his type was [illegible] reported as working at [illegible] 1592 without any material [illegible] may yet be discovered [illegible]

Guyot produced a [illegible] showing his types, probably [illegible] late 1560s (the only surviving [illegible] annotated in English). The [illegible] the degree of importance of [illegible] the punch-cutter. Where [illegible] time, the big independent [illegible] foundries came into being [illegible] helped to establish this. [illegible] der Keere at Ghent was [illegible] as a punch-cutter, is [illegible] Sabon, who managed and [illegible] owned the Egenolff-Berner [illegible] business, and Guillaume [illegible] father and son, whose [illegible] disappeared at the [illegible] French Revolution. Such [illegible] ground to acknowledge ownership of punches and matrices made Garamond and Granjon, and [illegible] them they provided the [illegible] part of Europe—a far cry [illegible] the days when each printer had [illegible] provide, if not he, his own punch-[illegible] and typefounder.

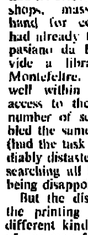
[illegible] fore this time, and linking it [illegible] the incunabular period, there is [illegible] slightly detached and still not [illegible] ly explained presence of Peter [illegible] fer the younger, son of Gutenberg's old enemy. It is clear from the [illegible] nts of his will (he died in 1544 [illegible] ele) that he was a punch-cutter [illegible] typefounder in a fair way of [illegible] ess. A study of the types used [illegible] occasional books he printed [illegible] en 1513 and 1542, and of their [illegible] ewhere, suggests that he pro- [illegible] several Basle printers, includ- [illegible] roben and Episcopius, with his [illegible] including some fine large [illegible] n capitals, greeks and hebrews, [illegible] s music type. He probably also [illegible] ced a much-used roman, and [illegible] be the engraver of the well- [illegible] n if rather ungainly "Basle [illegible] ", which is first found in Lyon [illegible] 37 and rivalled the French and [illegible] n models till the end of the [illegible] y. If all these possibilities are [illegible] s seems likely), Peter Schöffer [illegible] erge as the first of the new [illegible] Mr. Carter says that Schöffer [illegible] work in progress", and when [illegible] ook comes to fruition it will fill [illegible] portant gap between the anony- [illegible] of the fifteenth century and [illegible] minance of the great French [illegible] from about 1540.

A View of Early Typography [illegible] ides, in ample measure, the [illegible] rical conspectus it promises. [illegible] before there was no coherent [illegible] of the development of type [illegible] in the fifteenth century, we [illegible] have it. Where before the [illegible] graphical historian paused at [illegible] baffled by the confusion and [illegible] of the material before him, [illegible] is now a well-indicated and [illegible] derable pattern. But more than [illegible] this, Mr. Carter has laid down canons (which the less experienced will be wise to observe) for the classification and identification of types:

I think a typeface is sufficiently identified if the name of the man who cut the punches for it is known, if it can be named by the conventional body on which it was meant to fit, and if the style of the face can be described by one of the adjectives commonly used by palaeographers, palaeotypographers and neotypographers.

This is a far cry from the twenty-line measurement and four simple names employed even in a great work like the British Museum *Catalogue of Books printed in the XVth Century*. But the new standard of description is made vastly more simple by this book. We now know the names of a number of punch-cutters. The conventional names, for bodies (which are here recorded in French, German, Dutch and English) are vastly more informative, especially if it is amplified by its original epithet: "Cicéro Gros Oeil" tells you the size of the type, that it is big on its body, and French; "20 lines 86mm" only the size, and not even that if the lines have been leaded. Finally, Mr. Carter has built on the recent work on nomenclature of palaeographers such as Wehmer, Lieftinck and Battelli to provide a similar foundation for paleo- and neo-typographers.

There can be very few surveys of an almost wholly new subject so good as this. It is simple but based on wide and deep experience and reading; short, but packed with information both particular and general, illuminated by rare but convincing guesswork. Its style is plain but admirably clear; the illustrations are ample, and accurately placed to amplify the text. Above all, it sticks to the facts, which are set out in a calm, commonsense way. It is a work that every student of typography should read and re-read; no one with any interest in the history of the printed book can neglect it.



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MERVYN. *Drawing and Sculpture*. 165pp. Adams and Dart. [illegible]

[illegible]hor examines the special [illegible]er of drawing in its specific- [illegible]ptural relation. The choice [illegible]p sculptors has a wider range [illegible]and date than one might sup- [illegible]tending as it does from Ver- [illegible]o to Naum Gabo. The con- [illegible]g threads are pursued with per- [illegible].

[illegible]*ts of the Fifteenth Century* [illegible] *John Rylands Library Man-* [illegible]*er*. Reproduced in facsimile [illegible]an introduction and notes by [illegible]pbell Dodgson. 17pp. and 8 [illegible]s. Wakefield: S. R. Pub- [illegible]s. 30s.

[illegible]e of the edition of 1915 with [illegible]oduction and notes of the late [illegible]pbell Dodgson. It is the fourth [illegible]ries of facsimile reproductions [illegible] books and engravings in the [illegible]ylands Library and includes [illegible]nts of special importance, the [illegible]nciation" and "St. Christo- [illegible](1423), long considered the [illegible]ted woodcut.

[illegible]aphy and Memoirs

[illegible]r, IDA. *Woman with Violin*. [illegible]utobiography. 334pp. Gol- [illegible]: £3 4s.

[illegible]y of a musical prodigy is [illegible]s gifts are a burden; for while [illegible]ake music easy for him they [illegible]e more difficult. Mozart's [illegible]sic case and his father has [illegible]proached for hindering rather [illegible]ping the solution of its prob- [illegible]this autobiography of a vio- [illegible] international fame, who, [illegible]oked up a violin and played [illegible]e age of three and a half, a [illegible]story is told of a father trying to do the right thing by his exceptionally gifted child and so producing an emotional stoppage, such as Mozart broke through at the age of twenty-two but which has, according to her own story here related, distorted Miss Haendel's development beyond her thirties.

Of Jewish origin, her family left Poland luckily just in time to avoid the war of 1939, which they spent in London. Afterwards they made a base in Montreal, but the life of a travelling virtuoso, so far from teaching savoir-faire, has in this case left the Haendels, father, mother and daughter, always one stage behind. The narrative is concerned with a sequence of wrong decisions, misjudgments of people and a certain obtuseness about musical values which is betrayed in her references to conductors, pianists and critics.

In the days when she was often to be heard in London, her playing was notable for the assurance of her technique and the purity and sweetness of her tone, but her playing lacked personality. In the early part of her story she describes some musical insights that came belatedly to her from Enesco and from some conductors with whom she worked, and it is a pity that in the latter part, which deals with her emotional growing up, largely through friendship with the conductor, Sergiu Celibidache, she does not go into more detail about the forces that led her to extend her repertory into modern music, for instance, or indeed into questions of interpretation. She still seems to have no understanding of chamber music, which for a violinist is a serious defect.

WHITE, JOHN BAKER. *True Blue*. An Autobiography: 1902-1939. 184pp. Muller. 35s.

His grandmother hunted until she was sixty-seven and then had her appendix out. One of his nurses appeared at breakfast wearing nothing but black button boots and declared that she was the Virgin Mary. You cannot say that the author had an uneventful childhood. He himself moved from an atmosphere of butlers and grooms to fairground booking booths. Then he acted as an amateur spy and sent his dispatches to Sir Winston Churchill. This record of his life until 1939 has echoes of Sir Osbert Sitwell with overtones of Sir Gerald Nabarro.

Classics

OVID. *Metamorphoses*. Book VIII. Edited with an Introduction and Commentary by A. S. Hollis. 168pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £2.

In this edition Mr. Hollis is responsible both for the text and for the first detailed English commentary on Book VIII. Containing as it does the stories of Scylla, Icarus, Meleager, Baucis and Philemon, and Erysichthon, this book is an excellent sample of the *Metamorphoses*, which by its varied and sophisticated powers of story-telling is a far more enjoyable work than many texts traditionally regarded as essential ingredients of a classical training. With an introduction, appendixes and five plates this volume should be of service not only to undergraduates but to sixth-formers and more advanced students as well.

Education

MACKINLAY, EILEEN. *The Shared Experience*. 144pp. Methuen Educational. 30s.

Miss Mackinlay considers how to obtain "a disciplined freedom" in the writing of students and children, quoting at length from the work of her students in a training college and from the work done for these students by the children they teach in their practice terms. This is a book which could show trainee teachers the relevance of the theoretical side of their training to its practical application; and the way their various new experiences interact.

History

HADFIELD, ALICE MARY. *The Chartist Land Company*. 248pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles. £3.

Feargus O'Connor's Chartist Land Company, that bold social experiment of the 1840s, has at length found its historian in Miss Hadfield, whose detailed story of the enterprise has grown out of a study of O'Connor's newspaper, parliamentary papers of the period, and visits to the settlements as they are today. Five estates were bought, in Hertfordshire, at Minster Lovell in Oxfordshire, in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, and cottages—each with its two acres—built for the settlers. But the scheme ran into legal difficulties, and there was criticism that the building and materials were too good for "people used to cellars and lean-to sheds". The cottages indeed were good enough to last, and many are still in occupation today, though the movement itself soon "passed into the general reforming activity of the nineteenth century". Exploration of this somewhat neglected episode in Victorian social history has resulted in a pleasantly written book of considerable interest.

Literature

SHAH, IDRIES. *The Dermis Probe*. 191pp. Cape. 35s.

In this collection of stories and anecdotes Saiyid Idries Shah once again draws upon the almost inexhaustible store of Sufi tradition and writings. The burden of many of them, conveyed with wisdom and humour, is that, in time, even the best of conventional ways of thinking become a cramping influence, and need to be looked at with the kind of scepticism which the Sufis brought to bear upon traditional scholarship. The life-story, which has been filmed, clothes in space-age terminology a tale told in turn by Hakim Majdud Sanai and Jalaludin Rumi; it has found its way into such famous Persian collections as *Tales of a Parrot* and *Fables of Pilpai*. Four blind men, the story runs, encountered an elephant. One felt the ear and said: "This is a fan." The next touched a leg and said: "No—it is a pillar." The third felt the trunk: "Ah, it is a snake." The fourth grasped the tail: "You are all wrong—it is a rope." This age-old warning against mistaking the parts for the whole and failing to see the wood for the trees is conveyed anew by the wafflings of members of "The Commission of World Scientists" when confronted by an over-close-up television view of the elephant's hide. It is deftly done, in the true Sufi tradition.

Medicine

LAMB, LAWRENCE E. *Your Heart and How to Live with it*. 247pp. Allen and Unwin. 35s.

Dr. Lamb has written a popular book aimed at that presumably large section of the public which is interested in knowing how the human body works and how this working can go wrong. His account of the development, anatomy and function of the human heart is clear and accurate. Many of his recommendations are sound; he is conscious of the dangers of unnecessary bed rest and of the value of walking as an exercise. The whole book is, naturally, based on his experience working with the American air force, and all that he says from this source may not be entirely applicable to the rest of the world. Certainly some of his theories on the cause and management of arterio-sclerotic heart disease might not find favour among many members of the medical profession in other countries. Those who like this kind of medicine and science for the children will undoubtedly enjoy this book.

Natural History

SCHEFFER, VICTOR B. *The Year of the Whale*. 213pp. Souvenir Press. 35s.

A delightfully written account of the first twelve months in the life of a sperm whale calf, from a quiet month in autumn when, already four feet long and weighing a ton, it slips tail first from its mother into the waters of the Pacific Ocean. Nurtured on her rich milk and under her close protection it travels from pole to pole and into the deep pressures of the oceanic abyss, where she seeks her food.

Information about the study of whales, their environment, battles, migrations, courtship, hazards and their protective attitude to their own kind is interspersed in different type, with the main theme and indicates the author's wide experience as well

Mud-Salad Market

F. H. W. SHEPPARD (General Editor): **Survey of London**
Volume XXXVI: The Parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden.
388pp. 84pp. of plates. Athlone Press for the Greater London Council. £10.

"The world", as Stevenson said in *A Child's Garden of Verses*, "is so full of a number of things." There is something of the same plenitude in this volume of the great Survey of London on the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden. Before it was written two of the most important things in the parish, Drury Lane Theatre and the Royal Opera House—had been given their own volume published earlier this year. Yet how much remains, and what a fantastic story it makes, or rather two stories mixed—the public story of the muddled beginning of the new London outside the old city, and the private story of the fortune of the Russell family.

Covent Garden first appears as the garden and orchard of the Covent of St. Peter, Westminster, and the impression it gives is of the refectory tables well supplied with fruit. It came into the hands of Henry VIII and was then passed to the Earl (later Duke) of Bedford. Of those days one figure stands out, Humphrey Gosling, vintner, who kept the White Hart on the north side of the Strand as a tenant of the earl. He was remembered as "a very good archer and of honest mirth".

The earl, like Gosling, had his house on the north side of the Strand, and to the north of his garden Covent Garden was laid out. Whoever had the idea, we can see, very clearly, and regretfully, what the idea was in the picture of the Piazza and St. Paul's Church sometime before 1667. The Survey calls it "the first and finest of the London squares". But there was, in the picture, a warning of what was to come: a cart and baskets. The market gardeners from the Thames valley had their eyes on the new London and on the customers whom they would find there. They were allowed to settle on the south side of the Piazza, outside the earl's garden wall. There was as yet no regular market, but after a time complaints were made of the "great flyth" which they caused (how much blither filth seems spelt in that way), and the earl applied to the Crown for a patent to hold a market forever in the Piazza and to levy toll on those who sold there.

It was a fateful decision. It made the fortune of his family. It ruined the original idea. The Piazza had been designed "to attract persons of the greatest distinction", and the Survey notes that the first list of residents included "at least three earls". But other squares were built, and persons of the greatest distinction went to them, while persons of less distinction appeared in Covent Garden; and the vegetables remained; they increased; they took possession of the whole Piazza. There were, too, other problems not directly concerned with them: the control of taverns, gin shops and brothels; and by the middle of the eighteenth century the Piazza was called "the great square of Venus... its purlieus crowded with the votaries of this goddess".

But there were those to whom the Garden was still a garden. The Survey has found, in the *Illustrated London News*, in the middle of the nineteenth century, an article on the "aristocratic ladies" who came, with their page boys in attendance, in the early summer, and who looked on such visits as "almost a part of the London season". To these "halcyon days", as the Survey calls them, succeeded fierce attacks. They were led by *Punch*, a very savage *Punch*. It described the dirt, the overcrowding, the confusion. It named Covent Garden "Mud-Salad Market belonging to His Grace the Duke of Mudford". It called it "the greatest nuisance ever permitted in a great City of Nuisances". The Survey thinks that this is probably a reasonable picture, "after allowance is made for exaggeration".

The attack continued. It was taken up by others. The police made it more urgent by asking that the public should be able to buy their fruit and vegetables not only without inconvenience and delays, but without "the danger which at present exists". Then Sidney Webb and the Fabians condemned the duke's profits as an "unjustifiable tax on the food of the people". But before their pamphlet was published the duke had offered to sell the market, first to the Metropolitan Board of Works, then to the City Corporation. Both declined the responsibility, and it remained on his hands for another thirty years. Then Sir Joseph Beecham, of Beecham's Pills, agreed to buy it for £2m.; a company was formed to take it over; and it was not until another forty years had passed that it came into public ownership, and its value had increased to £4m. It was then 400 years since it had passed out of the hands of the monks of Westminster. At the beginning of them we have seen, standing clearly on the land of Covent Garden, Humphrey Gosling, vintner, good archer, and the man of honest mirth. At the end of them appears an altogether unexpected figure. Sir Thomas Beecham, his music for the present laid aside, as he came daily to work in the offices of the Covent Garden Estate Company.

as knowledge. He writes with a great sense of urgency in emphasizing the need for the protection of whales.

An unusual bibliography summarizes seven whaling classics and the entire book reflects the author's specialist knowledge and sympathetic appreciation of the great cetaceans.

Ornithology

GOULD, JOHN. *Birds of New Guinea*. Text by A. Rutgers. 321pp. Methuen. £3 12s.

The indefatigable Dutch writer, A. Rutgers, in collaboration with his British publishers, has produced yet another of John Gould's incomparable works—or rather series of plates, reduced to a size convenient to handle. The artist was working on his *Birds of New Guinea* at the time of his death. The volume was completed in 1888 by Dr. Bowdler Sharpe of the British Museum who ordered another thirty-eight plates to be drawn by Joseph Wolf, Edward Lear and other distinguished artists to complete the illustrations. It was, in fact, Bowdler Sharpe who wrote the text of *The Birds of Guinea and the adjacent Papuan Islands*, and no one more suitable could have achieved the task, for Sharpe had an unrivalled knowledge of the birds of the world.

The text of the present volume has been prepared by Mr. Rutgers with a view to bringing it "up to date", but, while welcoming a portable work with a selection of the original plates, though much reduced in size, there are some who would have preferred to have had a facsimile of the excellent original letterpress (or even a selection from it), rather than a modern version, however accurate, if only for historic reasons. There is much to be said for that view, had it been practicable, and a reviewer of an earlier volume in the series has already expressed the opinion that the publishers had missed a wonderful chance, which may never occur again—of presenting the countless admirers of John Gould with a miniature edition of his original work.

On the whole, with one or two exceptions, the plates in the book now issued have been well copied, the colours being cleaner, and closer to the original than in some of the volumes already issued.

Though Mr. Rutgers's text is very brief, to compress it into the allotted space facing each illustration must have entailed a great deal of reading and research. His text, so far as it goes, seems to have been carefully prepared, but when space is so valuable it seems quite unnecessary to devote so much of it to a verbal description of the subject's plumage. How much more interesting for his readers to have been given more of the natural history of the birds themselves, when that was known. John Gould's beautiful pictures would take care of the rest.

Printing

HUTCHINGS, ERNEST A. D. *A Survey of Printing Processes*. 211pp. Heinemann. £3. (Paperback, 35s.)

This book brings together the technical subjects which form the syllabuses for examination in general printing knowledge, and is aimed at the craftsman familiar with his own branch who needs an insight into other sections of the industry. To this extent the book has some value, but it cannot sustain the publisher's claim to present a "thorough and completely up-to-date survey of printing". In fact, it contains simple descriptions of traditional techniques with a modicum of information about new ones thrown in. It is particularly weak on photo-composition, which has developed rapidly in the past few years, and yet devotes, for example, a page and a half to the Cossar printing machine, which is no longer manufactured. One chapter is devoted to "Reprography" without attempting to define this ill-conceived word, and lumps together combined letterpress and lithographic machines, indirect relief printing and small offset lithography with xerography, electrostatic printing and dyeline duplication with which they have little in common. For some reason, the stamping and copper engraving, are also included as "reprography". With few exceptions the illustrations in the book are unpleasantly crude, although the printing of the text is of a high standard. The author has really undertaken an impossible task in attempting to cover all existing and developing techniques in some 300 pages. This has led to glaring omissions and inevitable simplification.

Religion

GALAVARIS, GEORGE. *Bread and the Liturgy*. The Symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine Bread Stamps. 235pp. University of Wisconsin Press (American University Publishers Group). £4 15s.

This study of the inscriptions, symbols and patterns stamped on the bread used in the liturgy of the Byzantine rite makes available a range of freshly analysed and classified archaeological information of the greatest interest. The history of the stamps and moulds used, starting from their pre-Christian origins; the designs used for eucharistic bread and for the bread offered and distributed for various purposes—fellowship, healing, commemoration of the saints, pilgrimages; the illumination by this evidence of our understanding of the development of ritual: all of this represents a most useful collection of material to which scholars will constantly turn for information on detailed problems of interpretation.

It is for the technical discussion of the dating, reading and use of the bread-stamps that this book will be of particular service. When the author relates his study to general liturgical history, he is rather disappointing. The proliferation of symbolism and ritual in the Byzantine rite is taken for granted as something fixed and established and is not subjected to the kind of critical appreciation that we are now accustomed to in general liturgical studies. Much of the earliest material examined represents the common tradition of East and West; as the centuries advance, the author confines himself to Byzantium in a way which now seems parochial, not only from the ecumenical point of view but from the point of view of art history as well.

Transport

ABBOTT, ROWLAND A. S. *The Fairlie Locomotive*. 103pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles. £2 10s.

Mr. Abbott is to be congratulated on assembling so many scattered pieces of evidence about the work of that original engineer Robert Fairlie (1831-1885). His twin-boilered design was unorthodox both in plan and appearance; with a chimney and a boiler at each end it was a Janus among locomotives. Fairlie argued that two boilers were better than one and that by mounting them right over the two sets of driving wheels a high degree of adhesion was obtained: in other words, they did not slip so badly on steep gradients. Further, since they were articulated engines they could navigate safely the wickedest of curves. The English geography did not really offer the right severities for the Fairlies—though the Festiniog Railway used them—but many famous British locomotive builders produced them for export and they did excellent work in South America and on the Transcaucasian lines.

BLOOM, ALAN. *Steam Engines at Bressingham*. 233pp. Faber and Faber. £2 10s.

Mr. Bloom's museum of steam is alive. The traction engines, steam wagons, showman's engines all bright and beautiful, the industrial locomotives and the large British Railways "Pacific" are not preserved and silent: they go, and those to whom a locomotive in steam is a fine sight come long distances to enjoy the spectacle. Readers who know Mr. Bloom's other books—notably *The Farm in the Fen* (1944) will remember him as at once resilient, idealistic, and splendidly obstinate; he needed all these qualities when he set out to rescue and preserve but not embalm a collection of engines. Lots of pictures, some in the good bright colour for which the subject cries out.

Travel and Topography

BERGLINGHOFEN, WERNER and HESSING, ERICH. *Rome Remembered*. 174pp. Burns and Oates. £5 15s.

Forty lavishly reproduced photographs by a well-known German photographer; a slight, amiably discursive text by an author who has fallen under Rome's spell, but who carefully disclaims any pretensions to scholarship; and, to produce the link that is so manifestly lacking between text and illustration, about sixty captioned reproductions from Piranesi's engravings of the city and its monuments. The text, translated by Roland Hill, reads easily but do geese really gaggle? The captions and the proof-reading, on the other hand, are careless.

A book of this sort stands or falls by the quality of its photographs. These are the highly personal creations of a talented photographer with a taste for stormy sunsets, darkling silhouettes and dramatic floodlighting, preferably in tones of warm orange, coffee or chocolate. Byron would have loved it: less so perhaps his distinguished contemporary, John "Kreats" (p.96). "Thunderstorm over the temple of Castor", "Afternoon mists in the Roman Forum": only the natives, alas, no longer conform to the romantic image and have had to be ruthlessly excluded. Some of the reviewer's family and friends found this heady, exciting stuff. To the reviewer himself neither the sentiment nor the colour reflect the Rome that he remembers, or would particularly wish to remember. Take your choice.

Wine and Food

BRAVERY, H. E. *The Complete Book of Home Wine-Making*. 150pp. Arco. 30s.

The author's claim that there are "over a million serious wine-makers in this country" may be reinforced by the steady flow of books on the subject. This one, reducing technicalities to the minimum and addressing the reader informally in the second person, should appeal to the grass-roots, Women's Institute, village show wine-making level. The recipes, for small quantities, are brief and practical, and apart from the usual ingredients, instructions on making wine from dried and tinned fruits are given. In view of a widespread impression that wine can safely be made from almost anything growing, the list of poison plants is useful; among other things, horse-chestnut and bluebell wine should be avoided.

World Affairs

RWEYEMAMU, ANTHONY H. (Editor). *Nation-Building in Tanzania*. 109pp. Nairobi: East African Publishing House. E.A.sh.10.50.

Originally a series of lectures, the contributions to this volume include discussions of Tanzania's educational problems, the financing of economic development, trade and aid and foreign policy. The authors, all members of the staff of University College, Dar es Salaam, are well qualified to analyse and assess Tanzania's policies, and the result is an authoritative and valuable background study. It would have benefited from an index; and it would have been useful to have more than a passing reference to the Arusha Declaration as the key document in Tanzania's ideological development. The thinking behind the Arusha Declaration is closely reflected, however, and the picture which emerges is accurate, and sympathetically appreciated.

The translator of George Duby's *Medieval Agriculture, 900-1500* (reviewed on June 25) is Roger Greaves.

Information, please

Maurice Barrymore, 1849-1905, actor, author, dynast, born Herbert Blythe: any information or pictures.

James Kotsilibas-Davis.
117 Ebury Street, London, S.W.1.

A. G. Benson, son of Archbishop Benson: title and whereabouts of his life of his mother not E. F. Benson's *Mother*.

Betty Askwith.
8 Egerton Terrace, London, S.W.3.

British Italian Council for Peace and Friendship (1935-36): files; or the papers of its Honorary Director, F. Victor Fisher: for a study of British opinion concerning the Italo-Abyssinian war.

Daniel Waley.
London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London, W.C.2.

Percy V. Catline: any information, for a biography.

A. B. Catling.
104 Strawberry Vale, Twickenham, Middlesex.

Artur Dinter, 1876-1948: any information, for a biographical sketch.

Donald R. Tracey.
Department of History, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122, U.S.A.

T. S. Eliot: any letters, memorabilia, or anecdotes, for a biography.

T. S. Matthews.
Cavendish Hall, Cavendish, Suffolk.

Sir John Floyer, 1649-1734, physician and author of Lichfield: family details, letters and any other information, including whereabouts of a portrait known to exist in 1800, for a biography.

D. D. Gibbs.
16 London Road, Lichfield, Staffordshire.

Sir Frederick Leighton: [illegible] abouts of his painting "[illegible] Exile", first exhibited [illegible] Academy's Winter Exh[illegible]

21 St. Paul's Square, [illegible]

Maud Gonne MacBride: papers, personal [illegible] biography.

[illegible]
46 West 76th Street, N[illegible] 10023, U.S.A.

Oxford (Tractarian) [illegible] *Australia*: any papers [illegible] mation relating to the [illegible] land in Australia before [illegible]

[illegible]
Department of History, [illegible] versity, Clayton, Victoria.

Alexis-François Rio, 1797-[illegible] spondence with Mrs. [illegible] and other literary figures [illegible] torian England on art [illegible]

[illegible]
Old Forge, New Street, [illegible] Kirk, Lancashire.

Paul Robeson and other[illegible] volved in film-making [illegible] any information and [illegible] niscences.

Da[illegible]
Department of History, University, New York [illegible] U.S.A.

Upton Sinclair: any inf[illegible] material, for a biogra[illegible]

[illegible]
2100 Maxwell Lane, [illegible] Indiana 47401, U.S.A.

Alexander Smith, 1830-67, [illegible] and one-time headmaster [illegible] nock (Ayr) Academy: [illegible] ation about any descend[illegible] editions of books by or [illegible]

W. K[illegible]
16 Bardwell Road, Ox[illegible]

Sarah Sophia, the 5th Lady [illegible] 1867: whereabouts of le[illegible] other material, for a [illegible]

[illegible]
420 West 119th Street [illegible] N.Y. 10027, U.S.A.

John Hanning Speke, 1827-[illegible] explorer, discovery of L[illegible] whereabouts of any letters [illegible] and any information on [illegible] Indian Army activities, [illegible] graphical study.

James [illegible]
Box 3181, Sta. B, Vanderbilt [illegible] sity, Nashville, Tenn. [illegible] U.S.A.

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Further details and application forms, returnable by 24 August, 1970, from Director-General, (F1/478/A), County Hall, London, S.E.1.

GLC GREATER LONDON COUNCIL
Director-General's Department

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County reference service at HQ
Salary librarians grade (no bar)

Details and application forms from:
County Librarian
Column House
7 London Road
Shrewsbury SY2 6NW

BOROUGH OF PORT TALBOT
PUBLIC LIBRARIES DEPARTMENT

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Applications are invited from suitably qualified and experienced Librarians for the Post of Reference Librarian, Central Library (with one assistant). The post offers scope for initiative in building up the reference service in an industrial town for the librarian with experience in reference work. Applicants should be Chartered Librarians. Duties include selection of periodicals and reference books.

Salary A.P. III—£1,515 to £1,776.

A five day week is in operation. Some Saturdays off. The post will be subject to the National Scheme of Conditions of Service affecting Local Authorities, and a satisfactory medical examination. Successful applicants may apply to Council for Housing Accommodation.

Forms of application may be obtained from the Town Clerk's Department, Municipal Buildings, Port Talbot, and should be returned to the undersigned not later than Noon Friday, 14th August, 1970.

W. EMRYS GRIFFITHS, Town Clerk
Municipal Buildings, PORT TALBOT.
27th July, 1970.

Cement and Concrete Association

CATALOGUER
required for the Association's Library at 52 Grosvenor Gardens, London, S.W.1.
Candidates should be qualified librarians, preferably with experience in the use of the UDC classification. A knowledge of building and civil engineering would be an advantage.

INFORMATION OFFICER
required for the Association's Library at Wexham Springs, Slough, Bucks.
Candidates should be Associates or Members of the Institute of Information Scientists, and a knowledge of building and civil engineering would be an advantage.
Applications for these positions should be sent in writing to the Chief Librarian, Cement and Concrete Association, 52 Grosvenor Gardens, London, S.W.1.

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The British Steel Corporation invites applications for a position as an assistant in its Central Registry Office, located in London, S.W.1.
The work is varied and interesting and is based on a central subject filing system providing scope for initiative. A keen analytical approach to the examination of documents is of more importance than academic qualifications or previous experience. If you are interested in learning more about filing or retrieval or have already gained some experience in this type of work, please write and tell us about yourself, quoting Reference TLS, to
The Personnel Manager (Head Office).
BRITISH STEEL CORPORATION,
33 Grosvenor Place, London, S.W.1.

UNIVERSITY OF BELFAST
The National Documentation Centre for Sport, Physical Education and Recreation

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

Initially for a period of 3 years the duties of the post will include responsibility for the Centre's Library, abstracting and editorial work, general information and bibliographical research, literature searching and the provision of current awareness services and of work in connection with computer based systems of information and data retrieval. Applicants should have a qualification in library or information science, an interest in sport and a reading knowledge of a major foreign language. Salary range £1,460-£1,730 per annum. Further particulars and application form from the Establishment Officer, at the University, Belfast BT7 1NN, Northern Ireland, to whom completed forms must be returned by 26th August, 1970.

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An opportunity for employment and training in Library and Information work is offered to a young woman of "O" level standard of education.

Previous experience in this work would be an advantage but is not essential.

Commencing salary would probably be in the region of £15 5s. 0d. per week at the age 20. Hours of work 10.00 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. Monday to Friday. Virtually free lunches in Staff Restaurant. Discretionary Bonus paid twice a year. Non-Contributory Pension Scheme.

Write giving details of age, experience, education and present salary to:—

The Personnel Officer (Recruitment and Training), Consolidated Gold Fields Ltd., 49 Moorgate, London, E.C.2.

A small publishing house wishes to appoint a

Director of Publishing

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An attractive salary can be negotiated and a contract of service arranged for a period of years.
Please write in confidence giving outline details of qualifications and experience. An informal interview will be arranged at which free information can be discussed with potential candidate. Write Box TLS.1727, The Times, E.C.4.

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required by IBM United Kingdom Limited for their Manchester office, for a post covering filing, updating and distribution of technical literature.
Applications welcomed from candidates with at least 5 good "O" levels and preferably some "A" level qualification, who are keen to learn something of the ever expanding world of data processing.
Please write with details of age, education and previous experience to **Mr. V. J. Coates, Manchester Systems Centre, 126 Washway Road, Sale, Cheshire, quoting ref. GA/TL/256.**

BOROUGH OF WATFORD
Public Libraries
(Amended Advertisement)

Applications are invited from suitably qualified Librarians for the post of

SENIOR ASSISTANT

at the North Watford Branch Library.
Salary Scale A.P. 2/3 (£1,272-£1,776).
The duties of the post are those of second in charge of a busy branch library and mobile library. Further details are available on request.
Applications (no special form required) should be sent within a fortnight of this advertisement to A. W. Ball, B.A., F.L.A., Borough Librarian, Central Library, Hempstead Road, Watford, WD1 3EU.

CITY OF BIRMINGHAM COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
Westbourne Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham, 15.
Principal, Miss M. M. Rigg, B.Sc., M.Ed.

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians for this post. The Assistant Librarian is responsible to the Tutor Librarian for the day-to-day administration of the Library of this large mixed College of over 1,000 students, situated in pleasant surroundings in Edgbaston.
Application forms obtainable from the Secretary at the above address. The salary scale is AP3 (£1,515 to £1,776 per annum). (V 8885)

Teesside Education Committee

TEESSIDE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Candidates should be Chartered Librarians and an interest in teacher education would be an asset. The Assistant Librarian will be responsible for the day-to-day organisation and running of the Library under the direction of the Tutor Librarian.
Salary Scale: £1,038-£1,776 per annum. Starting salary according to age, qualifications and experience. Minimum salary for Chartered librarians £1,413.
Application forms are available from the Principal of the College, Borough Road, Middlesbrough, Teesside and should be returned by 21st August 1970.

DIRECTOR
European office

ABC-CLIO, Inc. (American Bibliographical Center-Clio Press) plans to open European sales and (later) editorial office. First person to be selected (this autumn) should be qualified to head this office. Required: dynamic young person, minimum of five years' experience as librarian or in library sales. Degree in history or political science preferred. Minimum starting salary £3,000, plus future opportunity for profit participation. Appointment at publisher's office in California for six to eight months commencing January, 1971, in England thereafter. Interviews in London, September. Box C1724, The Times, E.C.4.

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Appointment of Librarian

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians for the position of Librarian at a salary within the Senior Officers Grade (Barred) (£2,106-£2,556 per annum) of the National Salary Scales in Local Government.
Full details available from the undersigned, to whom applications should be sent not later than the 31st August, 1970.
WALTER LAUGHTON,
Clerk of the Council.
Barclays Bank Chambers, Low Street, Sutton-in-Ashfield, Notts. NG17 1DX.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF MEDICINE,
1 Wimpole Street,
London, W1M 8AE,
invites applications from
GRADUATES
CHARTERED LIBRARIANS
with special interest in cataloguing, for post of assistant librarian, on scale £1,200 x £75—£1,500. Application naming two referees, to Librarian.

Librarians

LONDON BOROUGH OF BARNET
DEPUTY BOROUGH LIBRARIAN
Applications invited for the above post from suitably qualified persons who have had wide experience in modern library administration, management, and [illegible].
Salary on scale £3,710 by three increments of £115 plus two at £110 to £4,275. Application forms obtainable on application to the undersigned to whom they must be returned by 1st September, 1970.
[illegible] Williams, Town Hall, Hendon.

BIRMINGHAM
LIBRARIES CO-OPERATIVE MECHANISATION PROJECT
SYSTEMS ANALYST
The Project, involving the libraries of the University of Aston, and University of Birmingham, and Birmingham Public Libraries, wishes to appoint a systems analyst to coordinate the mechanisation procedures and requirements of the participating libraries. Library experience in [illegible] capacity will be an advantage. The successful candidate will be appointed to the staff of the Library of the University of Aston.
Salary within the range £2,355 to [illegible] per annum.
Application by letter, giving names of referees, stating age, experience (including present post) and qualifications to the Staff Officer, The University of Aston in Birmingham, Gosta Green, Birmingham, B4 7ET, quoting reference [illegible].

UNIVERSITY OF BRADFORD
APPLICATIONS are invited for the appointment as DEPUTY READERS' SERVICES LIBRARIAN. Duties will include supervision of the reading rooms and readers' services staff, responsibility for the day to day routine and their improvement where practicable. The successful candidate will be expected to set up and operate a Bibliographical checking unit with responsibility for handling all bibliographical checking prior to orders and requests. Candidates should be qualified librarians, and [illegible] would be an advantage.
Salary within range £1,925-£1,980 [illegible], commensurate with experience and qualifications.
Further particulars, and application forms to be returned by 20th August, from the Personnel Officer, University of Bradford, Bradford, Yorkshire.

CHARING CROSS HOSPITAL MEDICAL SCHOOL
(University of London)
APPLICATIONS are invited from qualified LIBRARIANS, preferably graduates, for the POST of ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN. Salary according to qualifications and experience within the scale £1,355 to £2,230, F.S.S.U. superannuation. The main library and its sub-branches provide a service for the staff and students of Charing Cross Hospital Medical School and the Charing Cross Group of Hospitals. There are good prospects of promotion when the Medical School and Hospital move to their new and greatly enlarged premises at Fulham in 1972/3.
Applications, giving full details of education and experience, together with the names of two referees, should be submitted to the Secretary, Charing Cross Hospital Medical School, The Adelphi, John Adam Street, W.C.2N 6HH, by the 24th August, 1970.

CHELTENHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES
Chartered Librarians are invited to apply for the POST of CENTRAL LENDING LIBRARIAN A.P. 3/4 (max. £1,800 per annum).
Starting salary according to qualifications and experience.
Closing date for applications is 22nd August, 1970, and further details may be obtained from the Borough Librarian, Central Library, Clarence Street, Cheltenham, Glos. GL50 3JT.
A. A. CRABTREE, Town Clerk.

LONDON BOROUGH OF ENFIELD
EDUCATION COMMITTEE
ENFIELD COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY
Constituent College of proposed North London Polytechnic.
APPLICATIONS are invited for the following posts:—
(1) ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN (Chartered Librarian) To assist with cataloguing and information services. Salary: Librarians' Scale, £1,317 to £1,776 per annum, plus £90 London Weighting.
(2) ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN for general library duties. Applicants should have had some public or college library experience, preferably with periodicals. Salary: Librarians' Scale: £1,038 to £1,515 per annum, plus £90 London Weighting.
Application forms obtainable from and returnable to the Academic Registrar, Enfield College of Technology, Queensway, Enfield, Middlesex, within 14 days.

CITY OF CHESTER
PUBLIC LIBRARY
APPLICATIONS are invited from enthusiastic young librarians for the POST of SENIOR ASSISTANT to work initially in the Central Reference Library. Salary within A.P. I/II. Housing accommodation and assistance with removal expenses available in suitable circumstances. Minimum qualification: L.A. Part I examination or completion of a post-graduate course in librarianship.
Further details on request. Applications, giving the names and addresses of two referees, should reach the City Librarian, Public Library, St. John Street, Chester, CH1 1DH by Saturday, 22nd August, 1970.

BOROUGH OF EPSOM AND EWELL
SENIOR ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN A.P. III/IV
APPLICATIONS are invited from Chartered Librarians for the APPOINTMENT of SENIOR ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN at the Stoneleigh Library, at a salary in accordance with A.P. III/IV plus London Weighting.
The library is one of three in a group supervised by a Librarian-in-Charge. For most of the week the senior Assistant Librarian is in charge.
Further details may be obtained from the Borough Librarian, Bourne Hall, Ewell, Epsom, Surrey, to whom applications, including the names of two referees, must be sent to arrive not later than 12th August, 1970.

LONDON BOROUGH OF NEWHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE
APPLICATIONS are invited for the POST of ASSISTANT CHILDREN'S LIBRARIAN. Librarians' Special Scale (£1,038 to £1,776 per annum plus London Weighting). Point of entry into the Scale will be in accordance with qualifications and experience.
Applications giving date of birth, qualifications and experience and the name of one referee should be sent to the Borough Librarian, East Ham Library, High Street South, London, E6 4EL, not later than the 22nd August, 1970.
F. E. Smith, Town Clerk, Town Hall, East Ham, London, E6 2RP.

BOROUGH OF ELLESMERE PORT
APPOINTMENT OF ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN
APPLICATIONS are invited for this POST from persons with suitable qualifications and experience in Public Librarianship.
Salary Scale: Librarian's Scale £1,038 to £1,515. Commencing salary will be in accordance with qualifications and experience. The provision of housing accommodation will be considered in appropriate cases.
Applications together with the names and addresses of two referees should reach the Borough Librarian, Central Library, Civic Way, Ellesmere Port, Cheshire, L65 0BG, by 17th August, 1970. Canvassing disqualifies.

LANCASHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL
APPLICATIONS are invited for the following POSTS:—
DIVISIONAL LIBRARIAN — GREAT HARWOOD
Salary: Grade A.P.5 £2,025 to £2,268.
Qualifications: Chartered Librarian.
Post carries a car allowance. Disturbance allowance payable if appropriate.
ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN—MORECAMBE DIVISION
Salary: Librarians' Scale, £1,038 to £1,515.
Qualifications: Part I Examination.
Starting points commensurate with qualifications and experience.
Appointments superannuable and subject to certificate of fitness.
Applications (naming two referees) to County Librarian, 143, Corporation Street, Preston, PR1 8RH indicating post(s) for which candidates wish to be considered, by 14th August.

LONDON BOROUGH OF BRENT
Libraries Department
An ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN
is required in the Brent Library Service.
Applicants should have completed the Examinations of the Library Association or made substantial progress towards completion. Salary A.P. 1-2 (£1,038-£1,515) plus London Weighting of £90 per annum. Commencing point determined by qualifications. Applications (no forms), together with the names and addresses of two referees to reach the Borough Librarian,
Central Library,
High Road,
Willesden Green,
London, N.W.10,
by 15th August, 1970.

LIBRARIAN REQUIRED
if possible for September, 1970, to take charge of senior and junior school libraries at Carmel College.
Applications to the Headmaster, Carmel College, Wallingford, Berks.

CHARTERED LIBRARIAN
for
Special Library in the City of London

Price Waterhouse & Co., chartered accountants, need a chartered Librarian for their fast-growing special library. (Our present chartered librarian is leaving to get married.) Salary not less than £1,700 a year. Five day week of course, luncheon vouchers and normal office hours.

Please write to T. R. Watts, Technical partner, 3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, London, E.C.2.